PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

SERIES IN

Philology Literature and Archæology

VOL. II NO. 4

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF

GEORGE GASCOIGNE

WITH THREE POEMS HERETOFORE NOT REPRINTED

BY

FELIX E. SCHELLING

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

GINN & COMPANY
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THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF

GEORGE GASCOIGNE.

I.

EARLY YEARS.

GEORGE GASCOIGNE was descended of an ancient and honorable family, originally of Yorkshire and afterwards, in its younger branches, of Bedfordshire and elsewhere.[1] His grandfather, Sir William Gascoigne, of Cardington, was the descendant of a son of James Gascoigne,[2] a cadet of the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe or Gaukthorp Hall, Yorkshire, of whom Sir William Gascoigne, lord chief justice of the King's Bench from 1400 to 1413 was the most illustrious.[3] It is of this Sir William Gascoigne that tradition relates the story afterwards immortalized by Shakespeare.[4] In his account of the

[1] *The Complete Poems of George Gascoigne*, ed. Hazlitt, *Roxbourgh Library*, I. xvi.

[2] Third son of the Chief Justice (ibid. xvi.), who was married twice and left a numerous progeny. See in general *Dic. Nat. Biog.* XXI. 36–47, *Plumpton Corresp.*, *Camd. Soc.* 34a *et passim;* the various references below; and *The Antiquary*, N. S. IX. 215.

[3] Fuller's *English Worthies*, III. 413; Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, I. 124, and *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, as above. All the Gascoignes appear to have been related, chiefly by descent from the Chief Justice. In Gascoigne's well-known portrait the poet is represented with the 'luce's head upon a pale on his breast, the armorial insignia of the great family of Gascoigne's of Yorkshire.' Hunter's *New Illustrations of Sh.*, I. 353. See also *Athen. Cantab.*, I. 566, and *British Heraldry*, 84.

[4] *Hen. IV.*, Pt. II., I., ii. Hall's *Chronicles*, ed. 1809, 46. See the story told 'with material additions' by Elyot, *The Governor*, ed. Croft, II. 72; and Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, I. 132–134. The story has often been denied, *Transact.* Roy. Hist. Soc. II., Pt. I., 47.

notabilities of Bedfordshire, Thomas Fuller has the following, under the name of Sir William Gascoigne of Cardington:—

Much wondering with myself how this northern name straggled into the south, I consulted one of his family and a good antequary;[1] by whom I was informed that this William was the younger brother of Gauthorpe House in Yorkshire, and was settled at Cardington nigh Bedford, in this county, by marrying the inheritrix thereof.[2]

This Sir William was thrice sheriff of Bedfordshire, and latterly controller of the household of Cardinal Wolsey.[3]

Of Sir John Gascoigne, the poet's father, little is known, save that he inherited the patrimonial estates of Cardington, and married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Scargell, of Scargell, Yorkshire, leaving by her two sons and a daughter, the eldest of which was George, the poet.[4] Through his mother's family, the poet was therefore connected with Martin Frobisher, the explorer.[5] He was likewise kinsman to Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower.[6] In the absence of

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[1] In another place, speaking of information as to the Lord Chief Justice, Fuller says: 'So I am informed by Mr. Richard Gascoigne, one descended from him, an accomplished antiquary in record heraldry.' *Engl. Worthies*, III. 413 Note; see also *Fasti Oxon.*, ed. 1820, Pt. II., 15; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XXI. 40.

[2] *Engl. Worthies*, I. 186. It is interesting to note that Margaret Gascoigne, heiress of Gawthorpe Hall, married, in Elizabeth's reign, Thomas Wentworth and was grandmother to the famous Earl of Strafford.

[3] *Negotiations of Thomas Wolsey*, etc., Cartwright, Harleian Miscellany, IV. 539, Hunter's *Chorus Vatum*, *Addit. MSS.*, 24, 487–493; in the British Museum. This Sir William was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (*Rutland Papers*, *Camd. Soc.*, 33), and appears to have been a man of considerable importance in his day. See *Plumpton Correspondence*, ibid., 221 *passim*. Towards the end of his life he fell into disgrace. (See *The Antequary*, N. S., IX. 215.)

[4] The pedigree of this family is contained in several MSS. in the British Museum. Harl. MSS. 135, 807, 1531, and 2146. *Hunter.*

[5] 'Because I vnderstoode that M. Fourboiser (a kinsman of mine) did pretend to trauaile in the same Discoverie, etc.' Epistle affixed to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia*, ed. 1576.

[6] Dedication to the *Glasse of Governement*, Hazl. ed., II. 1; and also the *Second Song* of the *Grief of Joye*, *ibid.*, II. 271.

any evidence to the contrary, it is likely that the poet was born on his father's estate at Cardington, Bedfordshire[1] and probably between 1530 and 1535.[2]

Gascoigne was educated at Cambridge,[3] and probably at Trinity College then newly established;[4] and Anthony à Wood's conjecture that he "had his education in both the Universities, chiefly as I conceive in Cambridge,"[5] may be

---

[1] Ibid. I. xvi. It is putting too much meaning into the words, "such Englishe as I stale in Westmoreland" (*Hermit's Tale*, Hazl. ed., II. 139), to make the latter county the place of his birth; while Chalmer's conjecture of Essex (Memoir, II. 448, Chalmer's *English Poets*), is probably due to his confounding Walthamstow in Essex, the place of Gascoigne's later residence, with the place of his birth.

[2] The evidence on this point may be thus condensed: Allowing the average age of admission to the Universities during the reign of Elizabeth to have been about eighteen, the fact that Gascoigne went to Trinity College, Cambridge — which was not known under that title, but by that of King's Hall, before 1546 — will give us the downward limit of 1528. Whilst, allowing a sojourn of two years, the poet's admission as a student of Grey's Inn in 1555 gives us the upward limit, 1535. Again, Stephen Nevynson, Gascoigne's tutor at Cambridge, did not commence M. A. until 1548. As it is improbable that Nevynson tutored when himself only B. A., Gascoigne's relation to him must have been subsequent to that date: this raises our downward limit to 1530. The chief reasons for assigning an earlier date, 1525 or before, rest (1) on the supposition that the author's words: —

> Since Adam was create, five thousand yeeres I gesse
> Five hundreth forty more and five;

are to be taken as referring to the actual date of the occurrences detailed in the series of poems of which they form a part (*Last Wyll and Testament*, etc., Hazl., I. 127); and (2) on Underhill's story examined below. On the other hand, the reasons for assigning a later date, 1537, are (1) that as the first blossoming of Gascoigne's Muse was in 1562, and "as poets usually begin to write when young," Gascoigne was young in 1562. (2) Arber notices "an unsupported statement" that Gascoigne was forty years old when he died.

[3] And Cantabridge shall haue the dignitie
Whereof I was unworthy member once.
The Steele Glas, ed. Arber, 77.

'Such Latyn as I forgat at Cantabridge.'
The Hermit's Tale, Hazl. ed., II. 138.

[4] *Athen. Cantab.*, I. 374.

[5] *Athen. Oxon.*, I. 434.

dismissed as one of the cases in which the glory of his Alma Mater urged that able and venerable authority to begrudge to her rival every name of note, not actually to be found in her archives. Gascoigne took no degree. The editors of the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* "surmise" that after leaving the University he was originally of the Middle-temple, and removed thence to Gray's Inn.[1] Although we have no record of him as a student of Gray's Inn until some years later, we learn that a lawyer of his name was in custody in 1548, charged with being "a dicer and the confederate of one Allen, a disreputable conjurer."[2] The full text of this accusation is as follows:—

I caused also Mr. Gastone, the lawyare who was also a great dicer, to be apprehendid; in whose howse Alene (the prophecyer) was mouche, and hadde a chamber ther, where were many thynges practised. Gaston hadde an old wiffe, who was leyde under the borde alle nyght for deade, and when the womene in the mornynge came too wynde her, they founde that ther was lyffe in her and so recovered her, and she lived about too years after. By the resworte of souche as came to seke for thynges stollen and lost, which they woulde hyde for the nonst, to bleare ther husbandes ies withalle, sayinge "the wyse man told them," of such Gastone hadde choyce for hymself and his frendes, younge lawers of the Temple.[3]

In *Notes and Queries*,[4] Mr. J. G. Nichols, editor of this volume for the Camden Society, commenting upon this passage, refers to Sir Henry Gaston or Garton, knighted hy Queen Mary,[5] and doubts if Gaston and Gascoigne are interchangeable. In this he is corrected by a later correspondent who quotes Fuller as mentioning eighteen variorum spellings of Gascoigne, and identifies Queen Mary's knight as "Sir

[1] *Athen. Cantab.*, I. 565.

[2] *Ibid.*, 374.

[3] Ed. Underhill's *Autobiographical Anecdotes, Narratives of the Reformation Camd. Soc.*, 175, and Note, 335.

[4] Series II., IX. Jan. 7, '60, 15.

[5] *Diary of a Resident of London, Camd. Soc.*, 334.

Henry Gascoigne, second son of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe."[1] The other reason of Mr. Nichols that Gascoigne was too young, as his "flowers of poesy did not begin to bud until 1562, whereas poets generally show themselves at an early age," is better, but not conclusive, as Gascoigne may have written much before *The Complaynt of Philomene*. The familiar Elizabethan use of *wife* for *woman*[2] forbids the interpretation that Gascoigne had contracted so curious a misalliance at so early an age. And, finally, Gascoigne and his friends are called "younge lawers of the Temple," an expression that comports well with his years and probable studentship at this period. On the other hand, the improbability that a young man of gentle blood, but recently from the University, should so soon be found consorting with a disreputable conjurer and, apparently, receiver of stolen goods, makes the story at least to a high degree unlikely.

Be this as it may, from the "nominal index of the Registers of all Admittances, Ancients, and Barristers in the Society of Gray's Inn, down to 1671," we learn that four gentlemen of the name of Gascoigne were admitted to the Society during the sixteenth century: John in 1536, George in 1555, and the other two at dates after the death of the poet. None of these occur in the list of Barristers,[3] but in the list of Ancients called on 24 May 1557 is the name of "Gascoine,"[4] and among the precedential orders relating to Ancients is the following: —

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[1] *Notes and Queries*, Series II., IX. Feb. 25, '60, 152. See below the spelling Gascoyn, Gaskoigne, Gascoynge, Gaskoyn, etc., etc. Campbell, *Lives*, etc., I. 124, note 3. Gascoigne is the form used by the poet in his signature. Hazl., I. vi.

[2] Among the numerous instances of this use of the word 'wife,' see *Jul. C.* iii. I.; and *Cor.* ii. I.; "Good morrow, good *wife*," says Falstaff to Dame Quickly, and then follows a play upon this and on the more usual modern signification. *Merr. W.* ii. II.

[3] *Hazl. MS.* 1912 fol. 33.

[4] *ibid.*, fol. 204.

'1555 Mr Barkinge, Mr Brand, Geo. Gascoigne, Tho.
1561 Michelborne, and William Clopton benige
1565 called Ancients as of ye former Call paid
1567 their respective fines for their Vacacions
1624 past to compleate ye number of nine Vacacions of ye said former call.'[1]

From this we may assume that Gascoigne had intermitted his studies at Gray's Inn for a number of years, and repenting at last "the lost time of my youth misspent"[2] had returned to the society about 1565. Whether or not "an early disappointment in love unfitted him for settled occupation" as recently stated,[3] we have abundant evidence at hand that the unsettled condition of Gascoigne's life was notorious. Indeed the editor of the first and so-called spurious edition of his poems hesitates not to say: "I will now deliver unto you so many more of Master Gascoigne's Poems as have come to my hands, *who hath never been dainty of his doings*, and therefore I conceal not his name."[4] Moreover the young spendthrift was no stranger to "the counter" or debtor's prison.[5] It was apropos of this that Gascoigne's younger contemporary Gabriel Harvey wrote as follows:—

God helpe good fellowes when they cannot help themselves. Slender reliefe in the predicamente of priuations, and fained habites. Miserable

[1] *ibid.*, fol. 238. Young persons of distinction, says Fortescue, "were placed in the Inns of Court not so much to make the laws their study, much less to live by the profession, having large patrimonies of their own, but to form their manners and to preserve them from the contagion of vice." "I apprehend the course is this: after a certain number of years spent in the Inn, the Barristers by mere seniority become what are called ancients." Serj. Talfourd in *Haywood's Case*, 68. Both quoted in Douthwaite's *Gray's Inn &c.*, 33, 34.

[2] Epistle Dedicatorie to *The Steele Glas*, Hazl., II. 173.

[3] *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XXI. 36.

[4] Quoted by Hazl., I. viii.

[5] See *The Steele Glas*, Arber, 71. "To stay their steps, by Statute Staples staff," etc. "In Woodstreet, Breadstreet, and in Pultery (where such schoolmasters keep their counting house)."

man, that must pearish: or be succoured by counterfeite, or importente supplies. I once bemoned the decayed and blasted estate of M. Gascoigne: who wanted not some commendable parts of conceit, and endeauor: but unhappy M. Gascoigne, how Lordly happy, in comparison of most-unhappy M. Greene.[1]

In the following, we have mention of Gascoigne's imprisonment, much as if it were no unusual matter, together with the debonair manner in which the wits of the time looked upon such trifles. Harvey's accusation that Tom Nashe had been in the counter for debt is thus met by that redoubtable master of raillery.

Nay but, in plaine good fellowship, art thou so innocent and unconceiving that thou shouldst ere hope to dash mee quite out of request by telling mee of the Counter, and my hostess Penia?

I yeeld that I have dealt upon spare commodities of wine and capons in my daies, I have sung George Gascoignes Counter tenor; what then? Wilt thou peremptorily define that it is a place where no honest man, or Gentleman of credit, euer came?

Heare what I say: a Gentleman is neuer thoroughly entred into credit till he hath beene there; & that Poet, or nouice, be hee what he will, ought to suspect his wit, and remaine halfe in doubt that it is not authenticall, till it hath beene seene and allowd in vnthrifts consistory.[2]

What follows may be added as a more direct, if somewhat apocryphal piece of evidence that Gascoigne's youth was ungoverned.

The sam day at nyght betwyn viij and ix was a grett fray in Redcrosse stret betwyn ij gentyllmen and ther men, for they dyd both mare [marry] one woman, and dyvers wher hwitt; thes wher there names, master Boysse [Bowes] and Master Gaskyn [Gascoigne] gentyllmen.[3]

Of course there is no positive proof that this was the poet. This entry was made in the *Diary of a Resident of London*

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[1] Harvey's *Foure Letters and Certaine Sonnets, &c.*, 1592, ed. Grosart, I. 170.

[2] Nashe's *Foure Letters Confuted*, 1593, ed. Grosart, II. 253. See also a possible allusion in *The Deuils Answer to Pierce Pennilesse*, Dekker's Works, ed. Grosart, II. 105.

[3] *Diary of a Resident of London, Camd. Soc.*, 293.

under date of September 30, 1562; and it is not a little curious that the widow, Elizabeth Breton, whom Gascoigne afterwards married and whose first husband was dead in January 1559, was living with her children in Redcross Street at this very time.[1] As we have already seen above, the form "Gaskyn" can offer no difficulty, as the spelling of the "resident" in question would warrant any assumption.

Whetstone states in his *Remembraunce of the wel imployed life and godly end, of Georg Gaskoigne Esquire:* "he was Sir John G. sonne and Heire Disinherited," and in the text puts the following words into Gascoigne's mouth:[2]—

> First of my life, which some (amis) did knowe,
> I leue mine armes, my acts shall blase the same,
> Yet on a thorne, a Grape will neuer growe,
> no more a Churle, dooth breed a child of fame.
> but (for my birth) my birth right was not great
> my father did, his forward sonne defeat.[3]

Hazlitt doubts this and quotes the poem on the theme, *sat cito, si sat bene*, given to Gascoigne by his friend, Alexander Nevile, to show that Gascoigne "succeeded to his patrimony and squandered it." O. G[ilchrist] in *Censura Literaria*[4] evidently held the same opinion and states: "he lived [at court] with a splendour of expence to which his means were inadequate, and at length being obliged to sell his patrimony (which it seems was unequal) to pay his debts, he left the court." The passage to which Hazlitt refers reads as follows:—

> To prinke me vp and make me higher plaste,
> All came to late that taryed any time;
> Pilles of prouision pleased not my taste
> They made my heeles to heauie for to clime:

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[1] *Works of Nicholas Breton, Chertsey Worthies*, Memorial-Introduction, I. xiii.

[2] *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XXI. 36.

[3] Arber, ed. 17.

[4] I. 110. Ed. 1805.

Mee thought it best that boughes of boystrous oake
Should first be shread to make my feathers gay,
Tyll at the last a deadly dinting stroake
Brought downe the bulk with edgetooles of decay:
Of every farme I then let flye a lease,
To feed the purse that payde for peeuishnesse,
Tyll rent and all were falne in suche disease,
As scarce coulde serue to mayntayn cleanlynesse:
They bought the bodie, fine, ferme, lease and land:
All were to little for the merchauntes hande.[1]

Whether this allusion is to patrimonial or other estates, it is certain, by his own confession, that he was deeply in debt and that he had squandered what estate he possessed like many an other young courtier, in reckless living and in long deferred hope of preferment.

Soon after his coming up to London, Gascoigne appears to have sat in two successive parliaments — that of 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, and that of 1 Elizabeth — as burgess for his native county of Bedford.[2] Other public employment of the poet will be mentioned below in its proper place. When, however, in 1572, Gascoigne offered himself once more as burgess, for Midhurst co. Sussex, the following objection was raised. The paper is endorsed *Against Georg Gascoyn, y^t^ he ought not to be Burges*.[3]

To the righte Honnorable the Lordes of the Privie Cownsaile.

Certeine objeccions why George Gascoigne oughte not to be admitted to be a Burgesse of the Parliament.

Firste, he is indebted to a greate nomber of personnes for the w^ch^ cause he hathe absented him selfe from the Citie and hath lurked at Villages neere unto the same Citie by a longe time, and nowe beinge returned for a

[1] *Flowers*, Hazl. ed., I. 69.

[2] *Athen. Cantab.*, I. 565.

[3] This document is preserved in the State Paper Office, *Domestic Papers, Temp. Eliz.*, vol. LXXXI. No. 39. Attention was first called to it in the *Gentleman's Mag.* 1851, Pt. II., 241–244.

Burgesse of Midehurste in the Countie of Sussex doethe shewe his face openlie in the dispite of all his Creditors.

Item he is a a defamed person and noted as well for manslaughter as for other greate cryemes.

Item he is a common Rymer and a deviser of slaunderous Pasquelles against divers personnes of greate callinge.

Item he is a notorious Ruffianne and especiallie noted to be bothe a Spie, an Atheist and Godles personne.

For the wch causes he is not meete to be of the Cownsaile of High Courte of ye Parliament.

After giving the substance of this document, the editors of the *Athenae Cantabrigienses* remark laconically: "Whatever truth there may have been in these allegations, it seems that he did not sit in parliament for Medhurst."[1] Mr. Hazlitt on the other hand, while admitting the gravity of the charges against Gascoigne, calls attention to their *ex parte* character, and notes that "the term *ruffian* introduced here, did not convey the same sense as it does at present, but like the Italian *ruffiano*, signified simply a bully, a roisterer."[2] Mr. Hazlitt concludes: "It is by no means improbable that some good ground existed for such imputations, but the facts were doubtless exaggerated and over coloured."[3]

It would indeed be eminently unfair not to notice here the keen sense of conscience and remorse for past sin and folly that forms one of the strongest traits of Gascoigne's character, as depicted in his writings. While far from the terrible self-upraidings of such a man as Greene and while living no such tragedy as that unfortunate prodigal, Gascoigne shows, especially in his later life, as sincere if a less passionate regret for his misdeeds and much the same hopeless remorse for the irrevo-

[1] *Athen. Cantab.*, I. 374.

[2] Hazl. ed. i., XXI. As to the expression 'a common Rymer,' see Collier, *Bibliog. Account*, III. 23.

[3] *ibid.*

cable past.[1] Witness the following, from his dedication of *The Droome of Doomes Day* to the Earl of Bedford.

I must needes confesse both vnto your honor and to the whole world, that amongst a number of imperfections I finde my selfe giltie of much time mispent, and of greater curiositie then was convenient, in penning and endightyng sundrie toyes and trifles. So that, lookyng backe with inward griefe towardes the beginning of my recklesse race, I fynde that both the tyme and my duetie doe challenge in me the fruites of repentaunce: to be shewed in some seryous travayle, which might both perticularly beare witnesse of my reformation, and generally become profitable unto others.

After detailing how the admonitions of a friend led him to these serious thoughts, he continues:—

I beganne straightwaye to consider that it is not suffycient for a man to haue a high flying hawke, unlesse he doe also accustome hir to stoupe to such quarries as are both pleasand and profitable. For if the best faulkener with his best flying falcon should yet continually beate the flockes of simple shiftlesse doues, or suffer his hauke to check alwayes at the carion crowe, the pleasure might perhaps content a vayne desyre, but the profite or commoditie would skarcely quyte his cost. And in lyke maner, whosoeuer is (by the highest God) endued with anye haughty gifte, hee ought also to bestowe and employe the same in some worthie and profitable subjecte or travayle: least in his defaulte, he deserve the name of an unprofitable and carlesse stewarde, when his accoumpt is strictly cast.[2]

The facts of the case were probably these. Coming up to London, like many an other high-spirited and well-born young man, Gascoigne sought in the whirl and excitement of court life, a speedier road to fortune than that which awaited the laborious student of Gray's Inn. At court he soon found it easy enough to live beyond his means, and falling in with the humors of his time, was soon involved in extravagance and consequent debt. Under the circumstances, it would be absurd to attribute to him a degree of virtue, which we deny to far stronger men.

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[1] See *Epistle Dedicatorie* to *The Steele Glas*, Arber ed. 42.

[2] Preface to *the Droome of Doomes Day*, quoted by Brydges in his *Restituta*, IV 301–2.

II.

COURT, FRIENDS, AND PATRONS.

GASCOIGNE was at no time of his life devoid of friends and patrons, as may be seen from his numerous dedications to persons of quality, and his frequent allusions to many others in the manner of one who had a right to claim at least some measure of equality. Somewhere about 1564 Gascoigne had traveled in several parts of England,[1] particularly in Bedfordshire, where his old friends, the Dyves lived and where he had found a patron in Francis, Earl of Bedford.[2] Mr. Hazlitt thinks that through the Dyves it was that Gascoigne was introduced to his greatest patron, Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton.[3] In *Gascoigne's Woodmanship* written to Lord Grey upon the occasion of one of Gascoigne's visits to him, the city courtier relates:—

> Upon this occasion, the sayd L. Grey delighting (amongst many other good thinges) in chusing of his winter deare, and killing the same with his bowe, did furnish master Gascoigne with a croisebowe *cum Pertinencijs* and vouchsafe to use his company in the said exercise, calling him one of his wodmen. Now master Gascoigne shooting very often, could neuer hitte any deare, yea, and often times he let the heard passe by as though he had not seene them. Whereat when this noble Lord took some pastime, and had often put him in remembrance of his good skill in choosing, and readinesse in killing of a winter deare, he thought good thus to excuse it in verse.[4]

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[1] Hazl. ed. I. xviii, and *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XXI. 36.

[2] Hazl. ed. I. xviii. *A Delicate Diet, etc.*, is dedicated to "the right worshipfull his Synguler good friend Lewis Dyve of Broomham, in the countie of Bedforde, Esquyer," Gascoigne also wrote verses on Douglas Dyves, the wife of John Dyve whom he familiarly calls 'brother.' This John Dyve, afterwards Sir John was the father of Sir Lewis Dyve, a considerable figure on the royalist side in the Commonwealth wars. *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XVI. 301.

[3] It is interesting to remember that a younger and greater poet, Spenser, found a kind patron in the same liberal nobleman a few years later.

[4] Hazl. ed. I. 377.

Among Gascoigne's other patrons may be mentioned Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls, Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower,[1] and Anthony Browne, Viscount Montacute or Montagu,[2] for the double marriage of whose son and daughter to the daughter and son of Sir William Dormer, Gascoigne wrote "a divise of a masque."

Gascoigne has given us in his *Voyage into Holland* a momentary glance at, at least one of his more disreputable companions, Rowlande Yorke, an adventurer of the basest character.[3] But Gascoigne was never entirely bad; and a lively conscience seems to have worked severe retribution on him at times for his misdeeds.[4] It was doubtless in the freer, if really less vicious, life of the young lawyers and literary men of his day that the poet found his nearest friends. We are presented with an agreeable glimpse of the literary feeling among the young students of Grey's Inn by what follows, prefatory to a series of poems entitled Gascoigne's memories.

> Hee had (in the myddest of his youth) determined to abandone all vaine delights and to return to Greyes Inne, there to undertake againe the studdie of the common Lawes. And being required by fiue sundry Gentlemen to write in verse somewhat worthye to be remembered before he entered into their fellowshippe, he compiled these fiue sundrie sortes of metre vppon fiue sundrie theames which they deliuered unto him.[5]

Among these scholarly friends we can not but feel our poet more at home. It was under their influence that he did some of his best work, and not a few of his associates became men of mark in letters or the law. Christopher Yelverton, who wrote the Epilogue to *Jocasta*, was afterwards knighted and

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[1] See above, and Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, Arber ed. 42.

[2] Lord Montagu's seat was at Cowdray, Midhurst, co. Sussex, for which borough of Midhurst, Gascoigne was returned to Parliament in 1572. *Gentleman's Mag.* 1851, Pt. II. 241. See above, p. 11.

[3] See below, and Motley's *United Netherlands*, II. 156–7, 166, and 177.

[4] See Preface to *The Droome of Doomes Day*, quoted above, p. 13.

[5] Hazl., ed., I. 63.

became a judge.[1] Whilst amongst the five, who set Gascoigne his poetical task, may be mentioned Francis Kinwelmarsh, Gascoigne's coadjutor in his translation of *Jocasta*[2] and later a contributor to the *Paradise of Dainty Devises*, and Alexander Nevyle, the translator of *Œdipus*, friend of Googe, and afterwards secretary to Archbishop Parker.[3] From the commendatory verses prefixed to Gascoigne's Works and from references in his works it is evident that he was well acquainted and highly esteemed among the literary men of his day. George Whetstone, versifier and playwright, wrote verses prefixed to *The Posies*, and remained Gascoigne's warm friend and admirer

[1] Sir Christopher Yelverton, father of the more famous Sir Henry Yelverton, must have been considered a poet of considerable note before 1560, as he is mentioned with Sackville and Norton by Jasper Heywood in the Introduction to the latter's translation of Seneca's *Thyestes*. See Collier *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, III. 10; Gascoigne, Hazl., ed., I. 348; and Warton, III. 302 and 227. The following from the metrical introduction, noted above, will show the contemporary estimate in which the Inns of Court were held as seats of the Muses.

In Lyncolnes Inne, and Temples twayne,
  Grayes Inne, and many mo,
Thou shalt them fynde, whose paynefull pen
  Thy verse shall flourish so;
That Melpomen, thou wouldst well weene
  Had taught them for to wright,
And all their workes with stately style
  And goodly grace to endight.
* * * * *
There Sackvyldes Sonnets sweetly sauste,
  And feately fyned bee:
There Norton's Ditties do delight,
  There Yelverton's to flee,
Well pewrde with pen: such yong men three
  As weene thou mightest agayne,
To be begotte as Pallas was
  Of myghtie Jove his brayne, *etc.*

[2] See *Warton*, III. 302 and Collier *Bibliog. Acc.*, &c., I. 298. This name, Kinwelmarsh, appears elsewhere as Kinwelmershe, and even Kindlemarsh.

[3] Warton, III. 511–12. See several of his poems published with those of Googe, Arber Engl. Reprints.

in later life, as the eulogy of his *Remembrance* is quite sufficient to show.[1] In the long list of commendatory verses prefixed to *The Posies*, edition of 1575, and capable of identification only by the initials of the authors affixed, the following have been identified: — T. Ch., Thomas Churchyard,[2] whose luckless life of alternate trailing the pike and writing for bread offers a much prolonged parallel to Gascoigne's own; T. B., Thomas Bedingfield,[3] author of *Cardanus Comfort*, *The Art of Riding*, and *The Florentine History of Machiavelli*, to the first of which works Gascoigne prefixed commendatory verses; J. B., possibly John Bodenham,[4] collector of *England's Helicon* and *Bel-vedére, or the Garden of the Muses*. P. B., Peter Beverley of Staples Inn, author of *The Tragecall and pleasaunt history of Ariodante and Genevra*, 1565. For R. S., Mr. Hazlitt suggests 'Richard Stapylton, the reputed editor of the *Phoenix Nest*,'[5] whilst the editor of the *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica*, following Park in a note to Warton, with less probability refers the verses thus signed to Gascoigne's printer, Richard Smith.[6] Other identifications have been attempted: A. W., Andrew Willet,[7] B. C., Bartholomew Chappell,[8] J. D., John (?) Dyall, G. H., Gabriel Har-

[1] It is improbable that these verses were Whetstone's earliest printed work, as *The Rock of Regard* appeared in 1576. See Collier's *Bibliog. Account*, IV. 238.

[2] Certainly not Sir Thomas Chaloner, the elder as has been suggested, who was already dead in 1565.

[3] Rather than the epigrammatist, Thomas Bastard. For an account of Bedingfield and his works see *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, IV. 113. Gascoigne's commendatory verses to *Cardanus Comfort* are reprinted by Hazlitt in his ed. of the poet, II. 336.

[4] Bodenham mentions Gascoigne and Kinwelmarsh, as authors from whom he has drawn. See Preface to *Bel-vedére* and Collier, *Bibliog. Account*, I. 90.

[5] Index and Notes, Hazl. ed., II. 355. Richard Standihurst has also been suggested.

[6] Part VI. 421, *Publ. Chetham Soc.*, 1877. Park's note is in Warton *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, III. 53. These verses are printed by Hazlitt, I. 26.

[7] See *Coll. Anglo-Poetica*, as above, 421. This identification is not particularly valuable as Willet died in 1621, aged fifty-nine, and hence could have been but thirteen years old at the publication of the *Posies*. See *Cens. Lit.*, IV. 287.

[8] Brydges says that Chappell published a devotional book as late as 1638.

vey, if so, which is at least doubtful, Harvey's earliest appearance in print. The other initials have not been identified, and doubtless represent, many of them, men as obscure as the French writing master, whose verses appear among the rest.

To *The Steele Glas* we find commendatory verses by Nicholas Bowyer and "Walter Rawely of the Middle Temple": N. R. I do not identify. Some little difficulty has been raised as to Raleigh's verses, and the following two objections have been urged against his authorship of them: "that the writer's name is spelt in an unusual manner, and that he describes himself as "of the Middle Temple," while Raleigh declared on his trial, that he had never "read a word of the law or statute before" he "was a prisoner in the Tower." [1] Both these objections are easily answered: for the first, no serious student of Elizabethan literature need entertain it a moment; and the second is perhaps sufficiently answered by Naunton, who speaking of Raleigh's education, says: "his approaches to the University and Innes of Court were rather excursions than sieges or settings down, for he stayed not long in a place." [2] It is plain that "the writer of the verses had evidently formed an intimate friendship with Gascoigne," and Oldys says that Gascoigne's motto *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*, was subsequently adopted by Raleigh.[3] Finally the weight of authority is in favor of considering the verses Sir Walter's on the strength of internal evidence.

It was probably during this earlier period of his life at Court that Gascoigne indulged in those questionable amours, of which he has had the bad taste to leave us a careful, if some-

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[1] *Poems of Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Walter Raleigh and Others* edited by the Rev. John Hannah, 1845. Introd. XXVI.; see Edwards' Life of Ralegh, I. 669.

[2] *Fragmenta Regalia*, ed. Arber, 48.

[3] See *Life of Ralegh* by William Oldys, *Collected Works of Ralegh*, ed. 1829, I. 22; Birch doubts his residence in the Inner Temple, *ibid*, 572. The Registers of the Temple offer no clew.

what mystical, account. If we are to take the narrative of the adventures of *Ferdinando Jeronimi* "whom the reader may name Freeman Jones, for the better understanding of the same," [1] as referring to actual occurrences in the author's life — and there is much reason to believe that we should — we shall almost be compelled to join Mr. Fleay in his invective against "a man who openly boasts of his adulteries and who shrinks not from exposing himself to any charge, if he can only involve in it the unfortunate women who were his associates in wrong doing." [2] Mr. Fleay has succeeded apparently in identifying Leonora Bellavista or Elinor Belvoir, the heroine of the *Adventures of Master Ferdinando Jeronimi*, with Elinor Manners, daughter of George Manners, Lord Ross, heir to the barony of Belvoir and wife of John Bourchier, Earl of Bath: Valesqo, the name applied to Leonora's father-in-law, being "a sort of anagram for Val. Aq. So., the vale of Aqua Solis, the latinized form of Bath." As the Earl of Bath died in 1561, the events alluded to in this narrative must date before that year.[3] It is said that this narrative, as being a "slaunderous Pasquille against divers persons of great callinge," was brought to the notice of the Privy Counsel: doubtless in the *Objeccions* quoted above. Indeed it can not be denied that if we are to accept these poems as full of hidden personal allusion, they are certainly perilously near to libels pure and simple.

Gascoigne celebrates his second mistress under the odd names of "Ferenda" and "Natura," often combining the two into a motto. He likewise alludes to her under cover of the name "Livia," "the hollow tree" and other obscure expressions.[4] Ferenda seems to have exercised an unusual influence over the poet and to have maintained her control for a con-

[1] See ed. prin., *Printer to the Reader*, 3.

[2] *Historical Allusions in Sundry English Poets, Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, I. Pt. II., 2, N. S. Since reprinted with amplification in his admirable *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama.* I. 337–344.

[3] *ibid.*, 132.

[4] *ibid.*

siderable period of time. That Ferenda was fair, we have of course abundant proof: what lover has ever cheapened his own passion by declaring the truth about his mistress?

> Upon hir cheekes the Lillie and the Rose
> Did entremeete with equall change of hewe,
> And in hir giftes no lacke I can suppose,
> But that at last (alas) she was vntrue.[1]

wherefore he is constantly likening her to "Cressides Kind." In birth moreover she appears to have been his equal: —

> A fayre yong impe of proper personage,
> Eke borne (as he) of honest parentage.[2]

Unfortunately it may well be doubted if her chastity equaled her birth. Whatever may have been the reason of her perfidy — and, amid much doubtful allusion to the "Admiral," "Noble face" and "Ippocrace," no reason is assigned, — it seems that Ferenda maintained her influence over her lover despite it.[3] We find him, far later in his life alluding to her as his "ladie peramownt,"[4] and apparently with much of the ardor of youthful passion.

Although it might be supposed that an enquiry into the probable personality of Ferenda Natura would be likely to prove quite as abortive as the attempt to identify the "pale, darke ladie" of Shakespeare's "sugared sonnets," here too Mr. Fleay steps to our aid. Ferenda it appears was really "Helen Suavemberg, who married William Parr, Baron of Kendall and afterwards Marquis of Northampton. The hollow tree, his [Gascoigne's] special name for her, is a common metrical synonym for a boat, and Helen Suavemberg's arms were a lighter boat in fosse."[5] "The Admiral, I suppose," he adds,

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[1] Hazl. ed., I. 101.

[2] *ibid.*

[3] *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, I. Pt. II., 130, N. S.

[4] *The Grief of Joye, Second Song*, Hazl. ed., II. 274.

[5] Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc., I. Pt. II. 130, N. S.

"must have been Edward, Lord Clinton and Say; the Noble Face is probably another translation of Belvoir: but the whole of these allusions is too obscure for certainty." It would be unfair to leave this question without stating that in another place Mr. Fleay shows that this symbolism of allusion is perfectly in accord with a method which Gascoigne pursues elsewhere of concealing real names under punning allusion and translation.[1] His whole spirit in this matter can be discerned in the following quotation with which the unfinished story of Freeman Jones concludes in its earlier form.

> Yet I will cease, as one that had rather leave it imperfect than make it to plaine nothing doubting that you will easily understand my meaning, and that is as much as I desire.[2]

Into the further intricacies of these obscure intrigues we shall seek not to follow: leaving a consideration of his "Petronella de Alquemade," his "Petronella van Sconhouen" and his "Brydges" to the deeper critical acumen of the Germans.[3] We shall not even seek to dispute Anthony à Wood's declaration: — "From thence he went to France to visit the fashons of the court, where he fell in love with a Scottish dame;"[4] although it is more than likely that unless really at the siege of Antwerp, Gascoigne was never nearer France than when at Delft with the Prince of Orange. Indeed in these matters we had far better take our author's word, where he states, by way of marginal gloss: "These thinges are mistical and not to bee vnderstoode but by Thauctour him selfe."[5] We must agree

[1] Examples of this are: "another ox right lean" for Lennox, "the bridge with a stony arch" for Pierrepont, "one who dwells at Town's end" for Townshend. See *Grief of Joye*, Second Song, Hazl. ed., II. 274, *passim*. See also the verses "Either a needelesse or a bootelesse comparison between two letters," printed in the Appendix. Mr. Fleay finds a possible allusion to Helen Suavemberg's second husband Thomas Gorge in the "gorged hawk." Hazl. ed., I. 96.

[2] ed. 1572, 293.

[3] *The Grief of Joye, Second Song*, ed. Hazl., II. 275.

[4] *Athen. Oxon.*, I. 435.

[5] *Dan Bartholmew of Bath*, Hazl. ed., I. 115.

with Mr. Fleay that Gascoigne was involved in some difficulty, either on account of these amorous escapades themselves or because of his written allusions to them, and that in consequence he retired from the Court for a time.

In *The Epistle to the yong Gentlemen,* prefixed to the edition of 1575, Gascoigne speaks thus of those who have reprehended his book.

Then, to come vnto the matter, there are three sortes of men which (being wonderfully offended at his booke) have founde therein three maner of matters (say they) verie reprehensible. The men are these: curious Carpers, ignorant Readers, and graue Philosophers. The faults they finde are *Indicare* in the Creede, Chalk for Cheese, and the common infection of Loue. Of these three sorts of men and matters, I do but very little esteeme the two first. But I deeply regard the third. For of a verie troth there are one kinde of people nowadayes which will mislyke any thing, being bred (as I think) of the spawne of a Crab or Creuish, which in all streames and waters will swimme eyther sidewayes or flat backwards, &c.

* * * * *

Of this sort I make small accounte, bycause indeede they seeke a knotte in the Rushe, and woulde seeme to see verie farre in a Mylstone.

There are also certaine others, who (hauing no skill at all) will yet be verie busie in reading all that may bee read, and thinke it sufficient if (Parrot like) they can rehearse things without booke: when within booke they vnderstande neyther the meaning of the Authour, nor the sense of the figuratiue speeches. I will not say how much the areignment and diuorce of a Louer (being written in ieast) haue bene mistaken in sad earnest, &c. Of a truth (my good gallants) there are such as hauing only lerned to read English, do interpret Latin, Greke, French, and Italian phrases or metaphors, euen according to their owne motherly conception and childish skill. The which (bicause they take Chalke for Cheese) shall neuer trouble me, whatsoever fault they finde in my doings.[1]

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[1] See Hazl. ed., I. 8 and 9. For the expression "chalk for cheese" cf. the following: To be annswered by distinctions, that chawlke may not beare the price of cheese, nor copper be currant to goe for payment. *First Part of Pasquils Apologie, Works of Nashe,* ed. Grosart, I. 237.

III.

EARLIER WORKS.

IT is difficult to fix the period of Gascoigne's authorship, although it is certainly not necessary to follow Mr. Hazlitt in his wild conjecture that "all that we have received from his pen was committed to writing, and for the most part to the press, between the date of his return from Holland and that of his death, a period not much exceeding three years."[1] In the preface to *The Steele Glas*, dated April, 1575, the poet informs us: "I called to minde that twelve or thirtene yeares past I had begonne an Elegye or sorrowfull song called the *Complainte of Phylomene*, the which I began to devise riding by the high way betwene Chelmisford and London, and being overtaken with a sodaine dash of Raine, I changed my copy, and stroke over into the *De profundis*, which is placed amongst my other *Posies*."[2] This certainly points to a habit of writing already confirmed, as early as 1562, which the performance of his two dramas as early as 1566, and his assumption of middle age in the preface to the edition of 1575 only go to confirm.[3] Nor need we be misled with the same slipshod editor by the dates of Gascoigne's earliest publications, as there can be no question that he followed the fashion of his age in handing his verses about for perusal among his associates long before there was thought of printing. Indeed Puttenham enumerates Gascoigne among the "courtly makers who have written excellently well as it would appear *if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest*;"[4] and the supposed editor of the surreptitious edition of 1572 remarks as to

[1] Hazl. ed., I. xii.
[2] Hazl. ed., II. 219.
[3] *ibid.*, I. 7.
[4] *The Arte of English Poesie*; ed. Arber, 75.

certain "notable works" of the author not yet published "these things, and especially the latter doth seem a worthy of reading; and the rather I judge so, because his fantasie is so occupied in the same as that, contrary to his wonted use, he hath hitherto withheld it from sight of any his familiars until it be finished."[1]

It is probable that Gascoigne first appeared in print in 1566 for in that year he printed a sonnet with his name in full in commendation of *The French Littleton, newly set forth by C. Holiband teaching in Paules Churchyarde by the signe of the Lucrece.*[2] In 1572 appeared the first and so-called "spurious edition" of Gascoigne's poems, under the title, *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres bound up in one small Posie. Gathered partely (by translation) in the fyne outlandish Gardins of Euripides, Ovid, Petrarke, Ariosto, and others: and partely by invention, out of our owne fruitefull Orchardes in Englande: Yelding sundrie sweete savours of Tragical, Comical, and Morall Discourses, bothe pleasaunt and profitable to the well smelling noses of learned Readers.* Meritum petere, grave. *At London, Imprinted for Richard Smith.* The text is preceded by two letters by H. W and G. T., who have been hastily identified as Henry Wotton and George Turberville. These letters purport to explain that the poems, supposed to be the work of several authors, were given H. W. to read, with the charge that he "should use them only for mine owne particular commoditie and eftsoones safely deliuer the original copie to him againe, wherein I must confesse myself but halfe a marchant;" says H. W., "for the copie unto him I haue safely redeliuered; but the work (for that I thought it worthy to be published) I

[1] *G. T. to his very friend H. W.* Hazl. I. 41. A gloss of the ed. 1572, p. 3 states that the verses beginning "Fair Bersabe," etc., "were the first verses t ever he wrote uppon like occasion."

[2] Arber ed. Chronology, p. 5, where this sonnet is quoted. It is in better fo than is usual with Gascoigne although of inferior merit.

haue entreated my friend A. B. to imprint." [1] When we recall that Gascoigne, in the surreptitious publication of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *Discourse of a Discoverie of a Voyage to Cataia*, conducted himself in precisely the manner in which his friend, H. W., is made to act here,[2] and when we consider that Mr. Fleay has shown that Gascoigne's work is full of allusion of the most personal character, involving, in what amounts to scandal, many of the prominent ladies of Elizabeth's court, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that Gascoigne himself procured the publication of this "spurious edition," choosing that it appear in his absence and under the guise of a surreptitious publication. The poet thus speaks of the matter in the first preface to a subsequent edition of the *Posies*: —

> It is verie neare two yeares past, since (I being in Hollande in seruice with the vertuous Prince of Orange) the most part of these Posies were imprinted I neuer receyued of Printer, or of any other, one grote or pennie for the first Copyes of these Posies. True it is that I was not unwillinge the same shoulde be imprinted.[3]

It seems not unlikely, from internal evidence, that Gascoigne did more than inspire the two letters of H. W. and G. T., and that he was actually the author of both.[4]

The contents of this *editio princeps* include *Supposes*, *Jocasta*, *The Adventures of Master F. I.*, here incomplete, *The Devices of Sundrie Gentlemen*, under which are most of the poems afterwards distributed under the headings, *Flowers*,

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[1] *H. W. to the Reader*, Hazl. ed. I. xxxvii.

[2] See below.

[3] *To the Reverend Divines*, ed. of 1575, Hazl. ed. I. 1.

[4] Mr. Arber reaches a similar conclusion in these words: "This first edition was therefore prepared and anonymously published by its author; not surreptitiously by the printer as sometimes supposed." *Chronicle*, 5. It may be added that a comparison of the letter signed G. T., especially with Gascoigne's *Certayne Notes*, will show a simularity in thought and treatment in not a few passages. Cf. the almost precisely parallel conduct of Barnaby Googe in the publication of his *Eglogs*, etc., ed. Arber, 24 and 26.

Hearbes and *Weedes*, *Gascoigne's Woodmanship*, *Gardening*, and *Voyage* and *Dan Bartholmew*, this last broken off abruptly in the middle of the tenth stanza of the Reporter's conclusion with a few words of excuse and comment by "the editor." A collation of this edition with the following one of 1575 exhibits 1. extremely few variorum readings ; 2. an attempt to bowdlerize the more objectionable passages of *The Adventures of Master F. I.* including the entire omission of certain verses and prose passages ; 3. a further attempt to delocalize the same adventures by the substitution of foreign names for the English ones of the earlier form: *e. g.*, Leonora for Elinor and Nell, Lord of Valesco for Lord of the Castle, Hercule Donaty of the initials H. D., and Hanibal de Cosimo for H. K., Florence for London. Moreover "from the riding tale of Bartello" as the original of these adventures appears for the first time in the later edition. 4. Three Poems of the *editio princeps* have been wholly omitted in the edition of 1575, they are : "*a Translation of Ariosto Allegorized*," [1] one sonnet, a short poem of ten lines in poulter's measure, which seems little more than a variant of *The Straunge Passion of a Lover*,[2] and lastly the appropriately named "*Either a needelesse or a bootelesse comparison between two letters.*" I have printed these three poems in an Appendix as they have not been republished since the now exceedingly scarce edition of 1572.

But by far the most important omission of the edition of 1575 is that of much of the running commentary or gloss upon the text, the supposed production of "the editor." I have already had occasion to quote from this more than once ; and the glimpse which it affords us of the personality, the wit and the opinions of Gascoigne is as valuable as it is often entertaining. These notes usually take the form of a comment or apology upon the verses presented, thus :—

[1] See Appendix. [2] But see Hazl. ed., I. 108.

The meetres are but tough in many places, and yet are they true (*cum licentia poetica*) and I must needes confesse, that he hath more commonly bene ouer curious in delectation, then of haughtie style in his dilatations.[1]

And again: —

This ballad, or howsoever I shall term it, percase you will not like, and yet in my judgment it hath great good store of deep invention, and for the order of the verse, it is not common.[2]

Elsewhere we are informed that certain of the Posies "have verie sweet notes adapted unto them: the which I would you should also enjoy as well as myselfe."[3]

Although the edition of 1575 was not published until the return of the poet from his services in Holland, it represents so wholly his earlier work that it is fitting to treat it here. This edition, which forms the basis of Mr. Hazlitt's inadequate reprint, appeared under the title *The Posies of George Gascoigne Esquire. Corrected, perfected, and augmented by the author. 1575.* Tam Marti quam Mercurio. *Printed at London for Richard Smith, and are to be solde at the northwest doore of Paules Church.* The matter has been wholly rearranged under the fanciful headings, *Flowers, Hearbes* and *Weedes.* The alterations and omissions of this edition as compared with that of 1572 have already been sufficiently noted, it remains to mention the additions. And first, the little farce of the two introductory letters is given up, and three prefatory letters take their place, "to the reverende Divines unto whom these Posies shall happen to be presented," "to al yong gentlemen and generally to the youth of England" and lastly to "the

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[1] ed. 1572, p. 365.

[2] *ibid.*, 241.

[3] Hazl. ed., I. 9. Note in this connection the words of the printer of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices:* "Furthermore the ditties are both pretty and pleasant as well for the invention as metre, and will yield a far greater delight being as they are so aptly made to be set to any song in five parts, or sung to any instrument." Quoted by Morley. *E. W.* VIII. 215.

Readers generally." These prefaces are cleverly written and form admirable specimens of the sly humor and the graceful prose of their author. From them we learn that his poems had enjoyed great popularity in his absence, that they had been variously construed and interpreted to the delight of the young and the scandal of the grave, and that both constructions demanded a "corrected and perfected" edition. With the courtier's jealousy on such a point, he denies that he has received money from the sale of his work, and with mock submission to the judgment of his censors seeks to justify this second edition. The additions consist of a few marginal comments on the text of *Supposes* and *Jocasta*, the addition of two poems among *Flowers*, (*the Arraignment* and the lines beginning "You must not wonder"),[1] the fine translation of the psalm, *De Profundis*, which appears to have been omitted inadvertently from the earlier edition, and a conclusion of *Dan Bartholmew*. These, with some half dozen autobiographical poems detailing his experiences in the Low Countries, form the sum of the new matter.

The literary influences which brought forth these volumes of Gascoigne are not difficult to discover. Although Wyatt, Vaux and Grimald were long since dead, *Tottel's Miscellany*, already in its fifth edition in 1567, was still a power among the poets, and it was not until some years later that newer and more novel collections of like character succeeded to popular favor. Barnaby Googe had already published his *Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonnetts*, Turberville, his *Epitaphs, Epigrams, Songs and Sonnets;* but, if we except such rhymsters as Churchyard and Tusser, there was little of merit outside of the *Mirror for Magistrates* and the translators. The lyric and erotic vein of Gascoigne must be regarded as a logical development along the line set by Wyatt and Surrey. His debt to the translators we

[1] Hazl. I. 36, 51.

shall discuss further on. Gascoigne was little affected by the revived Chaucerianism of the *Mirror for Magistrates;* he owes more to Turberville and Googe, and to such early Italianated prose writers as William Painter and Geoffrey Fenton.

Omitting for the time the dramas and the autobiographical verses of Gascoigne, we find these earlier works, whether erotic, religious or satirical, distinctly personal in tone, and remarkably diversified within a well defined and somewhat limited range. It is this that distinguishes Gascoigne from the lesser poets that simply followed the trend of the time. In fact the very superficiality of his culture rendered Gascoigne more distinctly national than his predecessors. His work shows little of the slavish adherence to foreign models, which marked the work of lesser men, and already exhibits much of the assimilation to English modes of thought and the strong vernacular expression which form the distinctive traits of the next generation. We feel that we have a vigorous individuality before us, which is never lost in the perception of mere objective beauty, but remains itself the inspiring theme of every utterance. We recognize, moreover, in Gascoigne the play of a versatile nature, restlessly seeking in thought, style and choice of subject the best means whereby to perpetuate a literary reputation and therein foreboding a new age.

Nor is this all. Gascoigne reached certain well defined conceptions as to his art, remarkable for their simplicity and common sense in an age largely given over to regrets after the lustreless bays of an ancient culture little understood. Gascoigne is really our first, conscious purist ; a man possessed of decided opinions, especially on the subject of versification, a presentation of which he has fortunately left us in a little tract, entitled *Certayne Notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or ryme in English,* and in other places. Let us hear his own words : —

I have alwayes bene of opinion, that it is not umpossible eyther in Poemes or in prose too write both compendiously and perfectly in our Englishe tongue. And therefore although I chalenge not unto my selfe the name of an English Poet, yet may the Reader finde oute in my wrytings, that I have more faulted in keeping the olde English wordes (*quamvis jam obsoleta*) than in borrowing of other languages such Epithetes and Adjectives as smell of the Inkhorne. I have rather regarde to make our native language commendable in it selfe, than gay with the feathers of straunge birds.[1]

In another place we are startled by this premonition of a famed Wordsworthian *dictum:* "Use the same figures or tropes in verse which are used in prose;"[2] and again, "eschew straunge words or *obsoleta et inusitata.*"[3] I have elsewhere discussed the contents and nature of this earliest treatise on versification in our language at length.[4] It will therefore suffice here to confess that Gascoigne, no less than his mightier successor, has not hesitated to practise what he has preached and to prove only too consistently at times that to him the language of poetry was identical with that of prose.

The style of Gascoigne whether in verse or prose is singularly direct and free from the involutions and inversions which mark his latinized contemporaries. He is generally clear, and simple, except where intentionally allegorical or "mystical" as he calls it; remarkably consecutive, though easily diverted from his main purpose. His prose often exhibits greater elegance and grace than his verse, from the fact that the latter is apt to ramble and lose the sense of form and proportion in a profusion of detail.[5] Gascoigne's verse, however, is far from devoid of

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[1] *Epistle to the Reverend Divines*, preface to ed. of 1575. Hazl. ed., I. 2.

[2] *Certain Notes*, etc., *ibid.* 504.

[3] Ed. Arber, 36.

[4] See *Poetic and Verse Criticism of the Reign of Elizabeth*, 11–18, Vol. I. No 1 of this Series.

[5] No better specimen of the grace of Gascoigne's prose could be cited than his preface to *A Discourse of Discovery.* Instances of profusion in detail may be found in *Dan Bartholmew, Dulce Bellum* or almost any of his longer poems.

the quality of music, and displays a general smoothness and evenness of flow from his close regard for the number of syllables, from the correspondence of word and logical or rhetorical accent with the accentual scheme of his verse, from the regularity of his phrasing and from his constant employment of alliteration and its resulting ease of utterance.[1] Gascoigne's diction often rises to dignity and real eloquence,[2] and his figures are frequently original and well chosen. As is to be expected from the prevailing looseness of his structure of sentence, Gascoigne prefers set and fully expounded simile to the flash and inspiration of metaphor,[3] although it cannot be denied that he is often peculiarly happy in the use of the latter. After the fashion of his age, he was likewise fond of extending an implied comparison until it reached allegory, as in the *Lullabie of a Lover* or the *Arraignment*,[4] whilst, as we have seen, many of his productions are literally bristling with personal allusion under symbolic and often far-fetched conceit or pun.[5]

Notwithstanding our author's strictures upon those that "do so hunte a letter to death," he is constantly alliterative, at times excessively so. When alliteration ceased to be a guiding principle of English versification, it was but natural that it should be abused. It may be added that Gascoigne's fondness for the jingle of

"rimes, running in rattling rows"

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[1] Gascoigne runs easily, but he runs in harness; you feel at times that he has counted his syllables to be sure. The proportion of end-stopped lines, even in the dramas, is overwhelming; the speeches all but invariably begin and end with the line. Even in *The Steele Glas* the freedom of the run-on line is sparingly employed, and the thought is invariably carried on to the conclusion of the next verse.

[2] Note the noble translation of *De Profundis*, several of the poems entitled *Gascoigne's Memories*, and the latter part of *The Steele Glas*.

[3] See especially *Dan Bartholmew*, Hazl. ed., 114.

[4] See Hazl. ed., I. 43 and 36. The latter poem is quite as excellent a specimen of sustained allegory as the famed *Assault of Cupid* by Lord Vaux.

[5] See above, Note 1, p. 21, and especially the later *Grief of Joye*.

was of a piece with his love of popular alliterative adages, which he at times carries to excess. It would be difficult to find an author who better exhibited in his writings the part which rime and alliteration played in the popular phraseology of the day.[1]

The verses of Gascoigne disclose not only all the regular sixteenth century phenomena of alliteration, parallel, alternate, transverse and whatsoever else the ingenuity Dr's Landman, Mertins, Schipper, or others may have discovered and named, but frequently all but realize King James's absurd rule: "Let all your verse be literall." *e. g.*,

*P*itie is *p*ut from *p*orter's *p*lace and *d*aunger keeps the *d*oor.
The *r*oots of *r*otten *r*eeds in *s*welling *s*eas are *s*een.
When *f*ancie had of *f*lattery *f*ed his *f*ill.
A *d*ainty *d*ish of *s*ugar *s*oppes, but *s*auced with *s*orrow *s*till.
*P*lenty brings *p*ride, *p*ride *p*lea, *p*lea *p*ine, *p*ine *p*eace.
*P*eace *p*lenty.[2]

The versification of Gascoigne offers some interesting features. In accord with his own statement, "commonly nowe a dayes in English rimes we use none other order but a foote of two sillables, whereof the first is depressed or made short, and the second elevate or made long," Gascoigne's verse is wholly iambic. He was not unaware that formerly other species of foot had been employed, but seems not to have experimented either in these or in classic metres.[3]

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[1] *e.g.*, Bear the bell, bite on the bridle, store makes no sore, One too many maketh some to seek, One shrew is worth two sheep, Take chalk for cheese, have his hand on his ha'penny; the rimes: guess twice, guess worse; when foxes preach, beware your geese, etc., etc. Gascoigne likewise exhibits many popular alliterative nick names, *e.g.*, Clim o' the Clough, Davie Diker, Doctor Daddipoll, Flaunt à Flaunt, Mumsimus, Pretty Peate, Tom Titmouse.

[2] See Hazl. I. 91, 103, 129, 151. In the 42nd stanza of *Dulce Bellum*, consisting of seven lines, there are two instances of two, three, and four alliterative correspondences and one of five, besides internal correspondences of sound. Ten lines of the *Devise of a Masque*, beginning "The barks are battered," Hazl. I. 83, exhibit eighteen instances of alliteration, four of them of three words and two of them of four.

[3] *Certayne Notes*, Hazl. ed., I. 502.

An examination of the metres used by Gascoigne in what is substantially the contents of the first edition of his poems, excluding, however, *Jocasta* and *Supposes* (the latter of which is in prose), gives the following results: —

Of the one hundred and nine poems constituting the collection, sixty-one are decasyllabic, and but nine octosyllabic; two poems are written in septenaries, and one in alexandrines, whilst thirty-three exhibit the ambling trot of Poulter's measure, and the remaining three are compounded of lines of five accents and two. A rough comparison of these results with similar ones obtained from Surrey and Wyatt, shows in Gascoigne nearly a constant proportion with Surrey in the use of the popular five accent verse, an increasing fondness for Poulter's measure and a decided falling off in the use of octosyllables.[1]

An examination of the stanzaic structure of the same poem exhibits that, save in Poulter's and to conclude a stanza otherwise formed, Gascoigne uses the rimed couplet but once, and that in a short octosyllabic poem of eight lines.[2] The triplet does not occur in Gascoigne, nor the quatrain, except once, where he has arranged two Poulter's couplets thus.[3] Stanzas of six lines are frequent, and the arrangement of rimes, *a b a b c c*, generally decasyllabic (although sometimes octosyllabic), is Gascoigne's favorite structure,[4] unless the *rime royal*

[1] Omitting irregular and compound metres, the figures stand thus: —

	Whole No. of poems.	5 accents.	4 accents.	3 accents.	Poulter's.
Wyatt,	93	70	16	5	2
Surrey,	39	21	6	3	9
Gascoigne,	104	61	9	1	33

The rough percentage in the use of decasyllables being respectively 77, about 50 and 58, a decrease from 17 and 15 per cent. to about 8 per cent. in octosyllables, and an increase from 2 per cent., through 23 to 31 per cent. in Poulter's measure.

[2] See Hazl. I. 365.

[3] *ibid.*, 430.

[4] There are 23 poems in this stanza; 15 decasyllabic, 7 octosyllabic, and one in alexandrines. Gascoigne describes these stanzas under the title 'Ballade' in his *Notes*, Hazl. I. 506.

(*a b a b b c c*) dispute that claim.[1] Other stanzas are *a b a b c d c d*, which seems peculiarly successful in lines of seven stresses,[2] *a b a b c c d d*,[3] and the odd *a b a b b c c d d*, the latter decasyllabic.[4] By far the most highly organized stanzaic form of Gascoigne, however, is that which he uses in the translation of *De Profundis* and twice elsewhere. It is composed of eleven lines arranged thus *a b b a a c c d e e d*, all decasyllabic except *e e* which are of two stresses.[5] This is a very sonorous and dignified stanza, and it is not a little remarkable that Dr. Schipper in his exhaustive *Englische Metrik* should not so much as have mentioned it.

Gascoigne has left less than thirty sonnets, none of them in the Petrarchan form. Nearly all are formed upon the model of what Dr. Schipper calls "*das National-Englischen, Surreyschen Sonett*," i. e., a series of three alternately riming quatrains *plus* a concluding couplet (*a b a b c d c d efef gg*). By Gascoigne's time this had become the prevailing form and he himself remarks: "Some thinke that all poems (being short) may be called sonets but yet I can best allow to call those sonets whiche are of fouretene lynes, every line conteyning tenne syllables:" and he adds the arrangement of rimes just given.[6] There appears to be but one departure from this scheme, the form *aa bcbc dd efef gg*. It will be noticed that this is quite a symetrical arrangement of rime, a couplet occur-

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[1] Twelve poems, many of them long are in Rime Royal; see especially *Dulce Bellum*.

[2] See *Gascoigne's Good Night* and *Good Morrow*, Hazl. I. 56 and 58. This stanza occurs three times in lines of five stresses.

[3] This appears rather an unusual form, see Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, Part II., ii., 628. Gascoigne uses it twice in decasyllables, once in octosyllabic metre in the famous *Lullabie*, Hazl. I. 43. See also *ibid.*, 457.

[4] This is used only in one stanza, and is no more than a stanza of *rime royal plus* a couplet. See *His Ryddle*, Hazl. I. 47.

[5] See Hazl. I. 60, 123 and 440; the poem at page 123 exhibits a slight variation on the scheme noted above, thus: *a b a b b c c d e e d*, 525.

[6] *Certayne Notes*, Hazl. I. 506.

ring at the beginning, the middle and the end of the stanza, the two quatrains disposed between. The sonnet in question is a very successful one for Gascoigne, the novel arrangement of rimes lending itself quite naturally to the thought expressed.

In his poem on the theme, *Sat cito, si sat bene*, Gascoigne has used the sonnet as the stanzaic form for a continuous poem, linking one stanza with the next by the repetition of the last line as the first line of the succeeding sonnet. There are seven stanzas thus united and the effect is not unpleasant.[1]

A still more unusual linking of successive sonnets is found in *The Adventures of Master F. I.* In one instance a riming bob-wheel of two syllables connects the first with the second and the second with the third sonnet, this latter concluding with an extra verse of four accents by way of the subscription to a letter. The other case is similar except that the bob is of two accents and that three riming decasyllabic lines plus a bob follow the bob of the third sonnet.[2]

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[1] Hazl. ed., I. 67.

[2] These curious forms will be found in Hazl. I. 420 and 496.

IV.

DRAMATIC WRITINGS.[1]

THE dramatic activity of Gascoigne extended over a period of about ten years from 1566 onward, and embraces tragedy and comedy in the pseudo-classic manner, moral didactic drama, besides the lighter quasi-dramatic productions, such as the *Device of a Masque*, for the Viscount Montacute, the Queen's 'shewe,' *Zabeta*, and his personal address to the queen, *The Hermit's Tale*. Notwithstanding the apparent diversity of his dramas in subject, Gascoigne belongs strictly to that class of 'courtly makers' that came most immediately under the influence of contemporary Italian literature; that, observing the luxuriant growth of the coarse and untrained dramatic spirit of the vernacular Farce and Interlude, determined to refine the Drama of the day by a recourse to those models which Trissino, Dolce, Ariosto, and Martelli had followed with such success. Thus it was that men like Udall, Norton, Sackville, and Gascoigne turned to the Latin dramatists, and thus, to use the picturesque phrase of Mr. Symonds, "our English scholars went to school with Seneca beneath the ferule of Italian ushers."[2]

This is not the place in which to expatiate on the Senecan drama, a dreary exotic happily incapable of acclimatization on English soil. Mr. Symonds has called attention to the fact that a certain intellectual kinship existed between the society of Italy in the sixteenth century and what he calls "Neronian Rome. There was the same taste for pedantic studies, the same appreciation of forensic oratory, the same tendency to

[1] Part of this chapter has already appeared under the title *Three Unique Elizabethan Dramas*, Mod. Lang. Notes, May, 1892.

[2] *Sh's Predecessors in the English Drama*, 216.

verbal criticism, the same confinement of the higher literature to coteries."[1] It was far otherwise in England. There the national spirit was no less strong than the popular passion for dramatic exibition. It is no uncommon error to estimate the proportional bulk of the vernacular and literary drama by what has come down to us. Aside from the fact that it is precisely the scholarly productions of courtier and student which would be most likely to be published and preserved, Mr. Fleay's revision of Collier's list of plays from 1559 to 1583 discloses a fair proportion of plays on vernacular subjects.[2] It would, however, be perilous to draw a line dividing the drama into two schools, although Sydney's well known strictures upon the popular drama of his age and his acceptance of *Gorboduc* as a model for the future, point to a conscious and determined attempt on the part of Sackville and his associates to follow in the wake of the continental drama. There were several things, however, which prevented the break into two schools. Chief of these was the growth of a class of professional actors who were more and more employed in Court entertainments, from their superior histrionic attainments, and who thus acquired that patronage which enabled them to practice their art in the public Inn yards and theatres. These men played in both species of drama and, their sympathies being almost wholly with popular ideals, absorbed only so much of the narrow classic spirit as enabled them to infuse into the new drama the brilliant vitality of the Renaissance. Again, to the actor, play-writing was the absorbing work of his life, to the courtier, the demonstration of a theory ; practiced by Still, Sackville or Bacon, in the dawn of a life devoted to the church or public service, or at least, as by Gascoigne and his fellows of Gray's Inn, as the casual accomplishment of a gentleman.

The tragedy, *Jocasta*, which purports to be translated from the Greek of Euripides, "and digested into Acte by George

[1] *ibid.*, 219.

[2] *History of the English Stage*, 379.

Gascoygne and Francis Kinwelmershe," was presented at Gray's Inn, as we learn by the title, in 1566,[1] and has been recorded by Collier as "the second dramatic performance in our language in blank verse."[2] *Jocasta* is a version of the *Phœnissæ* and was the first attempt to follow up the classical path opened by *Gorboduc*.[3] Warton was the first to call attention to *Jocasta*, calling it "partly a paraphrase, and partly an abridgement of the Greek tragedy." "There are many omissions," he adds, "retrenchments and transpositions, [although] the chorus, the characters and the substance of the story are entirely retained and the tenor of the dialogue is often preserved through whole scenes."[4] Warton devotes considerable space to a comparison of the work with a literal translation of the *Phœnissæ* and concludes: "Our translators thought the many mythological and historical allusions in the Greek chorus too remote and unintelligible to be exhibited in English."[5] All this pointed to a supposed scholarly and intelligent attempt on the part of the joint authors to adapt the Greek drama to the exigencies of an English performance; and Gascoigne was accordingly credited by Collier with "the first known attempt to introduce a Greek play upon the English stage."[6]

Such an attempt as this, however, is improbable in view of the character of Gascoigne and the age;[7] and as Mr. Symond's has put it, "if Collier had paid attention to his own quotations from *Jocasta*, the point would have been clear."[8] The *Phœ-*

[1] Langbaine says that *Jocasta* was printed in 1556 in-quarto. This is probably a mistake. See *Dramatic Poets*, ed. 1691, 231.

[2] *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*, III. 6–11.

[3] Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Seventeenth Century*, 150.

[4] *History of Engl. Poetry*, III. 302.

[5] *ibid.*, 304.

[6] *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*, III. 8.

[7] See G's confession as to his Greek. *Adventures*, etc., Hazl. ed., I. 429.

[8] See Symonds, *Sh's Predecessors*, 221.

nissæ has been the subject of more frequent translation and imitation than almost any of the plays of Euripides ; and this popularity was not only true of ancient times, as the parodies of Aristophanes, Strattis and Nævius, the free translation of Accius, the *Thebaid* of Statius and the *Thebaid* or *Phœnissæ* of Seneca attest, but the vernacular literatures of Europe have abounded in versions from the *Giocasta* of Lodovico Dolce and the one before us to the plays of Racine, Schiller and Alfieri.[1] Dolce's *Giocasta*,[2] which the author describes as *gia di Euripide invenzione et hora nuova parto mio*, appeared in 1549. Of the nature of this play I cannot speak at first hand ; but there is no reason to suppose that it differed materially from the bulk of its class or that it owed anything to Euripides except what came through the then ascendant influence of Seneca.[3] As we have already seen, during the earliest years of the reign of Elizabeth, the popularity of Seneca was unexampled. Between 1559 and 1566 several English authors translated him,[4] among them Gascoigne's intimate, Alexander Nevyle, whose version of *Œdipus* was published in 1560.[5] The *Thebais* itself was translated by Thomas Norton, but probably too late to have had any effect upon Gascoigne's work.[6] We are therefore not surprised to find that Gascoigne's version of Euripides is a literal translation of Dolce's Italian version of Seneca's imitation of the *Phœnissæ*, and that

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[1] For an account of these imitations of the *Phœnissæ*, see Mahaffy, *Hist. of Classical Greek Lit.*, I. 364.

[2] This play is reprinted in Vol. VI. of the *Teatro Antico Italiano.*

[3] "Every tragic scene which the Italians of the Renaissance set forth upon the board of Rome or Florence or Ferrara," says Mr. Symonds, "was a transcript of Seneca." *Sh's Predecessors*, 217.

[4] Warton mentions the fragment of a translation of *Hercules Oetæus*, as preserved among the Cotton MSS. in the Bodleian Library by no less a hand than Elizabeth's, about 1561. *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, III. 318. See also Morley E. W., VIII. 219.

[5] Warton, III. 311–312.

[6] *Ibid.*, 315 ; also see Morley's *First Sketch of Engl. Lit.*, 327–28.

"the choral odes are in part original."[1] Besides the closeness of the English play to its Italian original, for which I must refer to Prof. Mahaffy and Mr. Symonds,[2] both have called attention to the fact that the παιδαγωγὸς or "gouvenour to the Queenes sonnes" is called *bailo* in Gascoigne's play, the regular Venetian title for a tutor, and the word used by Dolce.[3]

Jocasta exhibits all the leading features of its species: "dissertation, reflective diatribes and lengthy choruses." From *Gorboduc* is derived its medium of expression, blank verse, and the dumb shows which precede each act. It is worthy of note that the dumb shows, which were the device by which the want of action in *Gorboduc* was remedied, are not so needful in *Jocasta*, which is fuller of event. The versification, in which Gascoigne's work is not especially distinguishable from that of his coadjutor, is smooth, the lines prevailingly end-stopped, and characterized by much regularity. While the derivation of the tragedy forbids criticism of the plot or its conduct, we feel that the characters are at least as distinguishable as those of *Gorboduc* and that Prof. Mahaffy's estimate of *Jocasta* as "a motley and incongruous piece" is perhaps unnecessarily harsh.

For the sake of comparison, I quote the following short passage from Euripides and from Gascoigne. The former has often been compared with a speech of Hotspur's (also quoted below), which Professor Mahaffy considers Shakespeare's "only direct obligation to Greek tragedy."[4]

> Ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν, μῆτερ, ἀποκρύψας ἐρῶ·
> ἄστρων ἂν ἔλθοιμ' αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀντολὰς
> καὶ γῆς ἔνερθε, δυνατὸς ὢν δρᾶσαι τάδε,
> τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα.[5]

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[1] Ward, *Hist. of Engl. Dramatic Lit.*, I. 114.

[2] *Hist. of Classical Greek Lit.*, I. 165–6; and *Sh's Predecessors*, 221–22.

[3] See *Jocasta*, Hazl., I. 258, and Dolce's *Giocasta*, as above.

[4] *Hist. of Classical Greek Lit.*, I. 366 note.

[5] *Phœnissæ*, 503–506.

To say the truth (mother) this mind of mine
Doth fleet full farre from that farfetch of his,
Ne will I longer cover my conceit:
If I could rule or reign in heaven above,
And eke commaund in depth of darksome hell,
No toile ne trauell should my spirit abashe
To take the way unto my restlesse will.[1]

It need scarcely be premised that the following never came to Shakespeare through Gascoigne:—

By heaven, methinks it were an easy leap
To pluck bright Honor from the pale-faced moon,
Or dive into the bottom of the deep,
Where fathom-line could never touch the ground,
And pluck up drowned Honor by the locks;
So he that doth redeem her hence might wear
Without corival all her dignities.[2]

Supposes, "a comedie written in the Italian tongue by Ariosto, Englished by George Gascoygne of Gray's Inne Esquire" was performed the same year as *Jocasta* and at the same place. None of the particulars of these two performances have come down to us; but there is reason to believe that *Supposes* at least was not unsuccessful as it was revived in 1582 at Trinity College, Oxford.[3] This play is particularly memorable as the first successful adaptation of an Italian comedy, "the earliest existing specimen of a play in English prose acted either in public or private,"[4] and from the fact that from it was bor-

[1] *Jocasta*, II. 1, Hazl. ed., I. 287.

[2] 1. *Hen. IV.* I. 3, 201. The following parallel may be noted as a matter of minor interest. In the dumb show which precedes the first act of *Jocasta*, we find these stage directions: "Enter a king with an imperial crown uppon his head very richely apparelled, etc., sitting in a Chariote very richely furnished, drawne in by foure kinges in their Dublettes and Hosen, etc." Did Marlowe have this passage in mind in the stage direction: "Enter Tamburlaine drawn in his chariot by the kings of Trebezond and Soria, with bits in their mouths: in his right hand a whip with which he scourgeth them?" (Pt. II., IV. 4.) Or did both go back to a common original?

[3] Hazl. ed., I. xxix.

[4] Collier, *Hist. of Dram. Poetry*, III. 6–11.

rowed the underplot of the *Taming of the Shrew* and the *Taming of a Shrew*. "It seems peculiarly fitting," says Mr. Symonds, "that our comedy should have begun with a translation of Ariosto's *Suppositi*, which with the same author's *Cassaria* are placed next to the comedies of Macchiavelli by most Italian critics; for Ariosto seems to have been the first who conceived and carried into effect the idea of regular comedies in imitation of the ancients."[1] "In the *Suppositi*," says Ginguené, "his second comedy, Ariosto, imitates chiefly the *Captivi* of Plautus and the *Eunuchus* of Terence;"[2] and Ward commends the "free imitation of the manner" of the former, the "spirited and natural dialogue" and the graceful spontaneity of Ariosto's flow of language.[3]

Supposes holds an important place in the early history of the drama; for just as *Ralph Roister Doister* represents the direct contact with classical comedy and *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, the emergence of the native comedy from the slough of the formless interlude, *Supposes* stands as representative of that Italian influence which in fuller flood became the source of English Romantic Comedy. As is well-known, Ariosto's comedy was first written in prose and afterwards rewritten in *versi sdruccioli* or endecasyllabic blank verse in supposed imitation of the ancients.[4] It is the opinion of Collier that Gascoigne took his translation from Ariosto's earlier prose version, but that he adopted some of the changes which Ariosto had introduced when he turned the play into verse. The critic concludes: "Gascoigne has added very little of his own."[5]

If Gascoigne had the example of Sackville in his adoption of blank verse for tragedy, he certainly appears to have been

[1] *Studies in South Europe*, I. 109. See also Hallam., *Lit. of Europe*, I. 275, and Ginguené, *Hist. Litt. d'Italie*, ed. Milan 1820, VI. *passim*.

[2] *ibid.*, 180 *seqq.*, where a synopsis of the play will be found.

[3] *Hist. Engl. Dram. Lit.*, I. 144.

[4] Ginguené, VI. 170.

[5] *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry*, III. 6 and 7.

the first to conceive the practicability of writing comic prose dialogue in English. The innovation of prose as the medium of comedy cannot but be regarded one of the most important steps in the history of the drama; and Gascoigne's use of sprightly prose dialogue in this place closely approaches the excellence of his successor, John Lyly.

Farmer appears to have been the first to call attention to the resemblance between parts of the *Taming of the Shrew* and *Supposes*, suggesting especially the source of the name Petruchio, which is substituted for Ferando of the earlier *Taming of a Shrew*, and which occurs in the form Petrucio as the name of a minor character in *Supposes*.[1] Malone adds that it was here, too, that the name of Licio was found,[2] whilst Tyrwhitt suggests that the word 'supposes' in the line —

> While counterfeit supposes bleared thine eynes —

is an allusion to the title of Gascoigne's play.[3] Another undoubted allusion to *Supposes* is this: —

> I see no reason but supposed Lucentio
> Must get a father called 'supposed Vincentio.'[4]

But there was a far closer contact between the plays than these casual allusions, first pointed out by Hunter as to points 1 and 6, noted below. I cannot do better here than to avail myself of the scholarly thesis of Professor Tolman, of Ripon College, *Shakespeare's Part in the Taming of the Shrew*."[5] I

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[1] Petrucio occurs as the name of one of the Scenese's servants. Hazl. ed., I. 199. See the essay *On the learning of Sh.* Malone's Sh., I. 346.

[2] This name appears in *Supposes* as Lytio, servant to Philogano. Lucio is one of the guests of Capulet. *R. and J.*, I. ii. Cf. further the nurses of the two plays.

[3] See Malone's Sh., *The Taming of the Shrew*, V. i, 120, where Tyrwhitt is quoted.

[4] *ibid.*, II. i, 409–10. Quoted by Tolman, see below.

[5] *Publ. of the Modern Lang. Asso.*, Vol. V, No. 4, 215 and 216.

omit the names and pseudonyms of the characters as unnecessary for the present purpose and as tending to confuse.

1. A young gentleman disguises himself in order to woo a lady to better advantage, and wins her heart. His servant assumes the rôle of master.

2. The pretended master and suitor in *Supposes* secures an aged man to play the rôle of his father. The real master in the other play, wooing under a false name, secures an old man to act as father to him. The false father in each case give assurance that his pretended son shall receive the necessary marriage portion.

3. The real father of each young gentleman comes seeking his son; but finds that the servant is usurping the son's name and rights. Confession follows on the part of the lovers and forgiveness is granted.

4. The servant who has assumed his master's rôle urges a pretended suit for the hand of the same lady.

5. The lady, who is wooed by the young gentleman in disguise, has also an old but wealthy suitor. Her father desires to give her hand to the wealthiest suitor. In *Supposes* the lovers are secretly living as man and wife.

6. An old man is deceived by the story that he has [unwittingly] come to a city that is in unfriendly relations to his own. He is glad to escape from supposed danger by assuming the rôle of father to a pretended son.

7. This false father unknowingly encounters the true father and vigorously maintains his assumed rôle.

Professor Tolman shows that the relation of *Supposes* to *The Taming of the Shrew* and the earlier play *The Taming of a Shrew* is the same as to the first three of these points, but that the other four apply only to a comparison with the later play. There is nothing to add to this save the remark that in the play which some deny to Shakespeare, the incident, by which the lover becomes a servant in the house of his mistress' father, has been both developed and condensed, by making the lover Lucentio become the daughter's tutor. The charming scenes between the lovers, with the duplication of the device in Hortensio, have no counterpart in *Supposes*.

The third drama of Gascoigne is *The Glasse of Government*, "a tragicall comedie so entituled bycause therein are handled as well the rewardes of Vertue, as also the punishment of

Vices." The title further contains the author's name, the date 1575, an appropriate Biblical quotation, and the statement that the play was "seen and allowed, according to the order appointed in the Queenes majesties Injunctions." There is no record of the performance of this play.[1]

This play belongs to the 'School-drama,' one of the forms of that wider cycle, 'The Prodigal Son.' Gascoigne's is the sole representative of this curious class in the history of English literature, although an examination of the writers of Latin comedy in Germany during the sixteenth century discloses more than a score of versions of this popular parable.[2] Mr. Hazlitt confesses his inability to name Gascoigne's model and, correctly declaring the style and construction as both un-English, suggests that "some of the incidents are in the manner of the early Latin dramatists."[3] Fortunately, Mr. C. H. Herford, in his *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany*, has treated the subject of the 'School-drama,' and thrown a flood of light upon this play and its originals. It remains for me to avail myself of Mr. Herford's interesting researches and here to acknowledge my debt to him.[5]

Mr. Herford begins by noting two peculiarities in Gascoigne's use of the Roman situations: "There is an obvious attempt (1) to combine with them a pronounced Christian moral; and (2) to associate them with the life of a modern university." Then follows a *résumé* of the dramatic versions of the parable of the Prodigal Son in Germany from Macrope-

[1] Mr. Fleay suggests that *The Glasse* "was probably privately presented at Gray's Inn." *Hist. of the Stage*, 65. The play was first reprinted by Hazlitt; his *Index and Notes*, II. 347, contains an absurd note in which he mentions the prologue as "one of the earliest specimens of blank verse in our language." The said prologue is in alternate riming decasyllables.

[2] Cf. Holstein's *Das Drama vom Verlorenen Sohn*, 1880, for a general discussion of this subject.

[3] Hazlitt ed., II. 347.

[4] Mr. Herford gives a synopsis of *The Glasse of Gov't*, p. 150.

dius' *Asotus*, 1510, and Gnapheus' *Acolastus*, 1529, to Stymmelius' *Studentes*, 1549. Mr. Herford dwells on the great popularity of several of these plays and the number of editions through which both the *Acolastus* and the *Studentes* ran, thus leaving little doubt of the European celebrity of both plays.[1] He adds that "all three dramatists must have been well known, at least by name and reputation, in the University circles to which Gascoigne belonged;" and calls attention to Gascoigne's presence in Holland, the actual scene of several of these plays. As further evidence Mr. Herford writes as follows: —

> Some parts of the plot, for instance the episode of the Markgrave, show familiarity with its [Antwerp's] institutions, and the figure of Eccho, a gay fellow 'known to all the town,' has something of the air of a portrait. Gascoigne's attested knowledge of Dutch itself involved a certain acquaintance with Dutch society and its current literature.
>
> The external evidence then rather favors the view that Gascoigne was not a stranger to works connected by so close an affinity with his own.
>
> Distinct copy of any one of them of course it is not; it is written throughout with a different bias; it is the work of a Calvinist, not a Catholic, or of a Lutheran; it is in the vernacular, not in Latin; in prose, not in verse. For all that, however, it assuredly belongs to the same dramatic cycle; it is an attempt, that is, to connect *Terentian situation* with a *Christian moral* in a picture of *school-life*.[2]

Then follows a detailed examination of the relation of *The Glasse of Government* to the three plays mentioned, for which the reader must be referred to Mr. Herford's own words; this is his conclusion: —

> There are plausible grounds for supposing that one of the most respectable pioneers of the great age of the English drama stood for a moment in literary contact with the most original Latin dramatists of the previous generation; that he met with their writings either in England, where they were in any case known by repute, or during the Dutch journey which im-

[1] See also *Acolastus, Latteinische Litt. denkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts.* Hermann Szamotolski, Berlin, 1891.

[2] Herford, 152–158 and 159–160, *passim.*

mediately preceeded the writing of his own play ; and that he learned from them what no Roman or English dramatist could then have taught him, — the idea of a 'Glass of Government' in which the unsavory world of Roman comedy is boldly adopted with a Christian purpose, while the story of the biblical Prodigal is worked out, much enlarged and still more extensively 'amended,' in the sphere of the modern school.[1]

There remains little to add. Mr. Herford has pointed out Thomas Ingleland's *The Disobedient Child* as the only other English version of the Prodigal Son, and called attention to a more distant parallel in Woode's *Conflict of Conscience*.[2] Possibly considering the manner in which the theme of repentence is set aside in *The Glasse of Government* for that of a contrast between a virtuous and a vicious life in the young, the more familiar drama *Eastward Ho !* may offer as distinct a parallel.[3] The general theme finally received a vivid pictoral treatment at the hands of Hogarth in his series of 'pictured morals,' entitled *Industry and Idleness*.[4]

Aside from its origin and unique position in English literature, *The Glasse of Government* is really a remarkable play; excellent, if over regular in construction, rapid and logical in its movement, and clear in character-drawing. It is pervaded by the same sincere, moral tone which has given *The Steele Glas* its popularity ; and barring the lengthy discourses of Gnomaticus, and a somewhat too copious citation from scriptural texts and Roman moralists is rarely inartistic. The comedy scenes are characterized by much lightness of touch and fidelity to nature, and the dialogue is worthy the translator of *I Suppositi*.

The dramatic career of Gascoigne is especially interesting from his varied choice of models ; though not yet strong enough to stand alone, he sought for final independence

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[1] *ibid.*, 162.

[2] These plays are reprinted in Hazlitt's Dodsley, Vols. II. and VI.

[3] Cunningham's Chapman's Works, Plays, 450 *seqq.*

[4] *A Set of Plates*, published in 1747.

through many guides. In the next generation Gascoigne might have been a great dramatist, as much beyond his actual achievements, as these achievements are above those of his friend, Whetstone. As it is, he is memorable for the earliest specimen of a tragedy in English founded, however remotely, on a Greek original, the earliest existing specimen of an English comedy in prose, and the only example of the 'School-drama' in the vernacular of England.

There remain only the quasi-dramatic productions already named. The earliest of these is *A Devise of a Maske for the right honorable Viscount Montacute*, furnished according to the custom of the time to celebrate a noble marriage, in this case a double one. Gascoigne sets out the circumstances of his writing in the prefatory prose, and finds in a parallel of the names Montacute and Monthermer a means of flattering his patron's, Lord Montagu's descent. Hazlitt tells us that this marriage "must have taken place after August 1571, as the siege of Famagasta in that month is mentioned in the Masque."[1] The work, which is written in Poulter's measure, has comparatively little merit. An allusion to the Montagues and Capulets[2] has some interest as showing the popularity of the well known story, already printed in English in at least two versions.[3]

The Hermit's Tale,[4] presented at Woodstock, 1575, is a presentation speech in prose, wherewith Gascoigne offered her Majesty a book containing four versions of the same tale, in English, Latin, Italian and French, the purpose being, as we shall see, no more than a proof of his fitness

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[1] Hazl. ed., I. 77–89 and II. 352.

[2] This token which the Mountacutes dyd bear alwaies, for that
They covet to be knowne from Capels where they passe,
For auncient grutch which long ago twene these two houses was.
Ibid., I. 85.

[3] Brook's *Tragicall History of Romeus and Juliet*, 1562, and as one of the stories of Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567.

[4] Hazl. ed., II. 135–170.

for service as a foreign messenger or *attaché*. Lastly *Zabeta*, a 'shewe' intended for the queen when at Kenilworth, in 1576; *Zabeta* is of the class of classical allegory, afterwards developed into genuine dramatic form by Lyly The *dramatis personæ* contains nymphs, "Audax, the son of Sylvester," Mercury, Iris, and the inevitable "Diana, Godesse of chastitie." Through several short scenes, couched in Gascoigne's most courtly verse and really far from devoid of true poetic value, we reach the kernel of the matter with the probable reason of its non-performance. "[Diana] and Mercurie being departed, Iris commeth downe from the Rainebowe, sent by Juno: persuading the Queene's Majestie that she be not caryed away with Mercuries filed speach, nor Dyanaes faire words, but that she consider all things by proofe, and then she shall finde much greater cause to follow Juno than Dyana."[1]

[1] Hazl. ed., II. 108, and see below.

V.

MARRIAGE AND CAMPAIGN IN HOLLAND.

WHETHER through his excesses, his debts, or his alleged 'slaunderous Pasquelles,' Gascoigne found himself cut off from all preferment at court, in debt and embarassment, and, as we have seen, no stranger to the counter. To use his own words:—

'I thought highe time about me for to looke,'[1]

and accordingly search was made for a means of retrieving his fallen fortunes. The most feasible means of bringing about this desirable result was an advantageous marriage; and in this Gascoigne succeeded. He married Elizabeth Breton, the daughter of John Bacon, a citizen of London, and widow of William Breton, by whom she had become the mother of five children, the second of whom was Nicholas Breton, the poet. This William Breton who describes himself as "of the paryshe of seynt Gyles wtout creplegate of London, gentilman," made his will on February 12, 1557, and in it bequeathed and devised numerous monies and properties of a considerable value both in London, at Walthamstow in Essex and elsewhere to his wife and children, the devise to Elizabeth Breton, however, being almost wholly contingent upon her remaining 'sole.' Dr. Grosart has printed this interesting will '*verbatim et literatim*,' in his Memorial-Introduction to the works of Nicholas Breton,[2] and calls attention to "the retinue of household servants remembered, with the mention of family-plate and jewels, and velvet and satin dresses, and gilt bedsteads" which "warrant us in thinking that the widow and her two sons and three daughters * * were well provided for." The

[1] *ibid.*, I. 69. [2] *Chertsey Worthies Library*, I. xii–xvii.

widow, with her father and another were appointed executors and, as Dr. Grosart observes, it speaks loudly in her favor, "that if any one of her daughters married without her consent, her legacies were to be absolutely void." [1] William Breton died on January 12, 1558–59. Some doubt exists as to the date of Gascoigne's marriage to Elizabeth Breton; although as he "fixed his residence at Walthamstow in or before 1566," [2] it probably took place in that year. He was certainly married prior to October 27, 1568. For on that day a jury at Guildhall entered into an enquiry before the Lord Mayor, under a writ of *mandamus*, having for its apparent object the protection of William Breton's property against his widow and her new husband, in the interest of her children. We do not learn what became of the suit; [3] but it is likely that it was amicably settled. At all events the estate in question was the part of that which Elizabeth Breton received from her first husband; and it was certainly enjoyed by the poet to the last.[4] Gascoigne left an only son by his wife, who is further identified as "widow of a London merchant." [5] We know nothing of this son, however, except that his name was William [6] and that he and his mother both survived the poet.[7]

Mr. Hazlitt raises a question as to whether a separation afterwards took place between Gascoigne and his wife,

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[1] *ibid.*, xix. Elizabeth Gascoigne lived until 1585, in which year her estate was administered by Catherine Wright, then wife of Richard Wright and formerly married to Richard Breton, Elizabeth Gascoigne's eldest son. See also Hunter's *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, I. 353, ed. 1845.

[2] Hazl. ed., I. xvii.

[3] All the children were minors at the time of the suit. Hunter's *New Illustrations of Sh.* I. 350.

[4] Hazl. ed., I. xix and Dr. Grosart's ed. of Breton, Introd., I. xx.

[5] Hazl. MS., 2146.

[6] *ibid.*, 2146 and 1531.

[7] 'This short accompt, (which makes me ill apaid)
My loving wife and sonne, will hardly please.'
Whetstone's *Remembrance*, Gascoigne ed. Arber, 25.

calls attention to the autobiographical character of *Dan Bartholmew of Bathe;*[1] and speaks of the love passion, therein detailed, as apparently later than Gascoigne's marriage; concluding that "according to his [Gascoigne's] own account, this contributed to induce him to go abroad, that he might find distraction in the Low Country war."[2] Mr. Hazlitt relies mainly on the circumstance that *Dan Bartholmew* appeared in the first edition of Gascoigne's works, which was published as we have seen, during his absence abroad and some six years after his marriage. This view is strengthened by Gascoigne's allusion to himself in the same work, as "a man of middle age";[3] whilst very little importance need be attached to the date, 1545, contained in *Dan Bartholmew's last Wyll*, which might be made intentionally misleading.[4] In short, as Gascoigne does not lead us to suppose Dan Bartholmew's recovery complete,[5] it must be acknowledged that there is much reason to believe that a sufficient cause existed for a separation, at least as far as Elizabeth Gascoigne was concerned. If a separation actually did take place, it is likely, that upon Gascoigne's return from Holland, a reconciliation was effected; as Gascoigne continued to reside at Walthamstow, on his wife's property, up to within a short time of his death.[6]

It is interesting to note in this connection "two little facts," which Dr. Grosart is "willing to interpret as indicative of a

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[1] Hazl. ed., I. 98. See above 18–22.

[2] *ibid.*, I. xix. 'He went to warres that wont to live in rest' *Dan Bartholmew, ibid.*, 143.

[3] *ibid.*, 101.

[4] *ibid.*, 127.

[5] *ibid.*, 138.

'I compt him lost, because I see him bent
To yeld again where first his greefe began.'

[6] Moreover Whetstone makes Gascoigne speak of his 'loving' wife, an adjective scarcely applicable had they lived apart at the time of his death. Whetstone, *Remembrance*, Arber ed., 25.

restoration of good feeling between Nicholas [Breton] at any rate, and his step-father."[1] First, "Breton copies after Gascoigne in several places of his poems" showing especially in his earlier works the strong influence of the older poet upon him: this Dr. Grosart exhibits fully in another place.[2] Secondly, Breton, "in his *Packet of Mad-Cap Letters* dates one of them from Gawthorpe." Dr. Grosart adds: "I am inclined to think this was — like others — a mere fancy date place. Still even if it were so, it showed kindly regard for the deceased old poet, inasmuch as Sir William Gascoigne, founder of the family, was of Gawthorpe.[3] Nicholas Breton began to publish in 1577, the year of Gascoigne's death, and it is certainly in no wise improbable that his step-father's influence and example may have turned the young man's attention towards authorship."[4]

Other reasons besides Mr. Hazlitt's have been assigned for Gascoigne's departure abroad: "a rambling and unfixed head,"[5] his failure to be returned to Parliament for Medhurst,[6] debt, bad company, fear of action for slander.[7] In view of all the facts already set forth and the testimony of Harvey, who tells us that "Master Gascoigne himselfe after some riper experience was glad to trye other conclusions in the Lowe Coun-

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[1] Works of Breton, *Chertsey Worthies*, I. xx.

[2] *ibid.*, lxvi.

[3] *ibid.*, xx.

[4] It may be worthy of note that Richard Jones, Gascoigne's publisher, printed several of Breton's earlier works. And further, the title of one of these works, *A Small Handful of Fragrant Flowers*, seems borrowed from the *Posies*.

[5] Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, I. 435.

[6] *Dic. Nat'l Biog.*, XXI. 37.

[7] Fleay, *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, I., Pt. II. 132 n. s. After connecting Gascoigne's departure with the utterance of "slanderous pasquills," Mr. Fleay stigmatizes the poet as "a coward who took advantage of his absence from England to print his scurrilous libels." Gascoigne can scarcely be convicted of making his departure from England alike the cause and the effect of the same act.

tryes," [1] we may grant that all these causes perhaps contributed to exile the poet. After stating the various causes that take men abroad to the wars, such as the hope of honor, greed, or misfortune, which latter class he divides into unthrifts, praters and felons, Gascoigne quaintly puts his own case in these lines : —

> So of the seconde somewhat coulde I say,
> Howe tattling tungs and busie byting pennes
> Haue fledde from Court long sithens many a day,
> And bene full gladde to lurke in *Misers* dennes:
> Some for their owne speech, some for other mennes,
> Some for their bookes bicause they wrote too much,
> Yea some for rymes, but sure I knowe none such.[2]

The poet records that on March 19 (*i. e.* 29, new style), he set out from Gravesend

> To boorde our ship in Quinborough that lay,[3]

setting sail the next morning for Holland, and arriving after all but shipwreck some days later at Breyll. During these very days of Gascoigne's crossing, De la Marck, the somewhat irregular admiral of William of Orange, forced from his harborage in English waters by a momentary Spanish ascendency in the counsels of Elizabeth, sailed from Dover, intending to land at Enkbuizen; but, abandoning his original intent, surprised and captured Breyll, April 1, 1572.[4] It is plain then that the party of Gascoigne could not have started out for Breyll, but were diverted hither by stress of weather, or through the treachery of their Dutch pilot, who had deliberately sought to wreck them on a hostile coast. The capture of Breyll was a fortunate accident for this party of English-

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[1] *Pierces Supererogation*, Harvey, ed. Grosart, II. 96.

[2] *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis*, Hazl. ed., I. 167. It is plain that Gascoigne took no little pleasure in his notoriety.

[3] *Voyage into Holland, ibid.*, 385.

[4] Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, II. 151.

men, as there is nothing to show that they purposed to fight for the King of Spain at this period. Gascoigne's account of the drunkenness and debauchery of the Dutch governor of Breyll and his companions is entirely in keeping with what we learn elsewhere of De la Marck and his fellow "beggars of the sea." [1]

I shall not attempt to follow Gascoigne in his circumstantial account of the various military operations in which he was engaged.[2] Indeed it is well-nigh impossible to draw his own distinction "twixt broyles and bloudie warres." [3] It will therefore be sufficient to call attention to some of the more important occurrences, that we may at least trace the soldier-poet's whereabouts during this period.

It is likely that Gascoigne, holding a captain's commission, was in the detachment of two hundred volunteers sent from Breyll to Flushing under command of Treslong to support the citizens of that town in their rising against Philip.[4] We know that there was a large force of English volunteers at Flushing a short time after, under Treslong's successor, Jerome van 't Zeraerts,[5] with whom Gascoigne certainly served. Between this and August, Gascoigne was engaged in several minor ventures, such as the "bragge of Bruges" and Aerdenburgh.[6] He also took part in both sieges of Goes or Tergoes, in the latter under Sir Humphrey Gilbert who commanded the English forces.[7] This second siege began August 26, and was at

[1] *ibid.*, 354.

[2] See G's poem, *Dulce Bellum*, on this subject. Hazl. ed., 147–196.

[3] *ibid.*, 170.

[4] For I have seene full many a Flushing fraye. — *ibid.*

[5] Motley, II. 363.

[6] *Dulce Bellum*, 170.

[7] 'I was again in trench before Tergoes. — *ibid.* Gascoigne probably met Sir Humphrey for the first time here, and through him became acquainted with his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. See *Dic. Nat'l Biog.*, XXI. 328, and Edward's *Life of Ralegh*, 36. As to the English at this time in the Netherlands see Bourne, English Seamen, I. 113, and Markham, *The Fighting Veres*, 45–48.

an end by October 21, through the brilliant exploit of Mountdragon, who relieved the place by marching three thousand picked men "eight miles across the drowned lands of the Ooster Schelde from Bergen-op-Zoom" in the dead of night.[1]

Gascoigne speaks of his subsequent movements as follows:—

> Since that siege raysde I romed haue about
> In Zealand, Holland, Waterland and all,
> By sea, by land, by ayre and all throughout
> As leaping lottes and chaunce did seem to call,
> Now here, now there as Fortune trilde the ball,
> Where good Guyllam of Orange badde me be.[2]

After mention of Rammekens, a castle on the island of Walcheren, Gascoigne says that he fought against Mountdragon "while he did assaie to lande his men with victuall to supplie poore Middleburgh."[3] It appears that a somewhat doubtful naval battle followed, that a certain Beauois fled, whom Gascoigne describes as "a coronel of the King's side, which was gouverneur of Middleburgh next before Mountdragon,"[4] and that Mountdragon in turn was cooped up in Middleburgh. All this took place simultaneously with the siege of Haarlem, by which more momentous event it has been obscured.

At this stage of events Gascoigne quarrelled with his colonel, for which he assigns the following reasons:—

> My harte was high, I could not seeme to serue
> In regiment where no good rules remayne
> Where officers and such as well deserue
> Shall be abused by euery page and swayne
> Where discipline shall be but deemed vayne, etc.[5]

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[1] Motley, II. 415, and *Dic. Nat'l Biog.*, XXI. 328.

[2] *Dulce Bellum*, Hazl. ed., I. 171.

[3] *ibid.*, 172.

[4] *ibid.*, 174.

[5] *ibid.*, 173.

Who the colonel was does not appear. Gascoigne says of himself that he remained in camp as a private volunteer, after throwing up his "Captaynes charge and eke a Martials state," and removed with the rest, after Beauois' flight, to "lande van Strayne." The war flagging by reason of the winter season, he went to Delft to deliver up his commission to the Prince, or at least obtain furlough for a visit home. In consequence of the Prince's courteous reception of Gascoigne and his earnest if futile effort to effect a reconciliation between Gascoigne and his former colonel, William of Orange receives the highest praises at the hands of the poet, who, whether he understood for what the Dutch were fighting or not, was most earnest in the tribute that he pays to the greatness of their intrepid leader.[1]

I continue in the words of Gilchrist.[2]

> While this negociation was meditating, a circumstance occurred which had nearly cost our poet his life. A lady at the Hague (then in the possession of the enemy) with whom Gascoigne had been on intimate terms, had his portrait in her hands (his 'counterfayt' as he calls it), and resolving to part with it to himself alone, wrote a letter to him on the subject, which fell into the hands of his enemies in the camp; from this paper they meant to have raised a report unfavorable to his loyalty; but upon its reaching his hands Gascoigne, conscious of his fidelity, laid it immediately before the Prince, who saw through their design, and gave him passports for visiting the lady at the Hague: the burghers, however, watched his motions with malicious caution, and he was called in derision 'the Green Knight.'

Although William's faith in Gascoigne's integrity is probably quite sufficient evidence of the poet's guiltlessness, there is every reason to believe that the Burgher's distrust of many of the English officers in their employ, was only too well warranted by subsequent traitorous conduct.[3] From what we

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[1] *ibid.*, 174. [2] *Censura Literaria*, 3.

[3] See later as to Col. Chester, Gascoigne's own commanding officer, and Froude's *History of England*, XI. 33, as to the treachery of several English officers in the service of the States, at this time. It may be added that no thing more thoroughly shows the character of these unscrupulous adventurers of the

know of Gascoigne's character and his hearty contempt for the Dutch, it is far from likely that he could have so conducted himself as to have given no offence to his enemies.

Notwithstanding this, Gascoigne again embraced the service of the States and served in the naval battle of Romerswael "in a Hoy" and in sight of the Prince, who watched the whole engagement.[1] Gascoigne tells us that he was in Middleburgh the day before its surrender and passed thence on Mountdragon's "promise."[2] It is not improbable that he was in some capacity engaged in "the parleyings" prior to the surrender of the Spaniards. Middleburgh surrendered Feb. 21, 1574, and Gascoigne received of the Prince in consequence his pay, a personal reward of three hundred guilders and a promise of future promotion.[3] Soon after this, re-enforcements coming over from England, Gascoigne was assigned a company under the command of Colonel Edward Chester; and before long was ordered to Valkenburgh, "a fort but new begun" and one of the out-posts of Leyden.[4]

In the meantime Louis of Nassau, bringing up an army from beyond the Rhine, had suffered defeat at Mookerheyde, May 26, 1574, and a renewal of the siege of Leyden was the immediate result.[5] "Valdez [the Spanish general] lost no time in securing himself the possession of Maeslandsluis, Vlaardingen

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time than the after career of Rowlande Yorke, who had accompanied Gascoigne to Holland and is twice mentioned by Gascoigne in his poem relating to that event. After changing sides several times under circumstances of the utmost dishonor, Yorke handed over Fort Zutphen to Parma in 1587, but died, under suspicious circumstances before he was able to make good his escape to Spain, where to enjoy the fruit of his treachery. See Motley's *United Netherlands*, II. 156–7, 166 and 177. See also *The Fighting Veres*, 98 and 170.

[1] *Dulce Bellum*, Hazl. ed., I. 179.

[2] *ibid.*, 180.

[3] *ibid.*, and Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, II. 528.

[4] *Dulce Bellum*, Hazl. ed., I. 181.

[5] Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, II. 535 and 551.

and the Hague. Five hundred English under command of Col. Edward Chester, abandoned the fortress of Valkenburg, and fled towards Leyden."[1] Indeed, Markham does not hesitate to say that the English under Col. Chester were disgraced, and that "they surrendered Valkenburg when they might have held out."[2] According to Gascoigne, the fortress was abandoned because it was impossible to hold it, with so small a garrison, a lack of provision, and insufficient muniment. Moreover, on the arrival of a messenger from Alphen with a statement that this fort, "a stronger place" than Valkenburg, had fallen, a mutiny broke out among the soldiers and the officers were compelled to march with them to Leyden, harassed by the enemy all the way.[3] Motley continues: "Refused admittance by the citizens, who now, with reason, distrusted them, they surrendered to Valdez, and were afterwards sent back to England."[4] Gascoigne is not very bitter against the burghers of Leyden for this action,[5] and there is every reason to believe that they acted wisely, as Gascoigne's commanding officer can be identified with the "Colonel Chester, an English officer in Walcheren, who undertook for 30,000 crowns to introduce the Spanish into the island."[6] Indeed Gascoigne himself admits:—

> We were in Holland sore suspect,
> The States did thinke, that with some filthie gaine
> The Spanish peeres vs Captaines had infect,
> They thought we ment our ensigns to errect
> In King's behalf.[7]

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[1] *ibid.*, 553.

[2] *The Fighting Veres*, 48.

[3] *Dulce Bellum*, Hazl. ed., I. 183.

[4] Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, II. 553.

[5] *Dulce Bellum*, Hazl. ed., 185.

[6] Froude's *Hist. of England*, XI. 33 and note, by which it appears that this Col. Chester returned to England as early as August. See above as to the frequent treachery of English officers in the employ of the States.

[7] *Dulce Bellum*, Hazl. ed., I. 189.

Worse than that, it seems to have been the general opinion of the English soldiers that they had been sold to the Spanish: an opinion which they hesitated not to avow alike before their departure and after their arrival in England.[1] Be this as it may, in consequence of the ensuing parley in which Gascoigne and Captain Sheffield were the spokesmen of the English, both soldiers and officers were well used, the latter being sent home, as we have seen, four months thereafter.[2] Gascoigne is loud in his praises of the Spanish captains, who apparently treated him with great courtesy during his short durance,[3] but can not forego the dramatic effect of telling how "the King's men"

> with hate their burning hartes did swell
> And bad hang up or drowne us euerychone.[4]

The first siege of Leyden was raised March 21, 1574, but was renewed soon after the defeat and death of Lewis of Nassau at the battle of Mookerheyde, May 26, 1574. As Motley states that Leyden was thoroughly invested again "in the course of a few days," and as the capture of the party that had garrisoned Valkenburg was one of the measures by which Valdez brought about this result, Gascoigne must have been a prisoner by June 1, and was consequently again in England by the following October.[5]

From a general view of Gascoigne's career in Holland, it may well be doubted if his earlier services to Mercury are not greater than his later services to Mars: and this despite "the considerable military reputation" granted him by some of his

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[1] *ibid.*, 190.

[2] *ibid.*, 187.

[3] *ibid.*, 186–7 and 190.

[4] *ibid.*, 190.

[5] Don Bernardino de Mendoza says that 'the lives of these English prisoners were spared at his express solicitation.' *Comentarios*, XII. 251. Quoted by Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, II. 553, note.

scholarly biographers. According to the fashion of an age which confounded naval warfare with privateering and war with petty marauding and adventuring, Gascoigne was a fair specimen of the gentleman adventurer of his day. He was, doubtless, personally brave, but hot-headed and insubordinate, and as utterly devoid of any knowledge of the broader issues of the quarrel, in which he drew his sword, as was his queen herself or the sorriest of his countrymen that trailed a pike and starved through the inefficiency or betrayal of their English officers. Gascoigne's admiration for the personal qualities of the Prince of Orange is too genuine on its face to call for a moment's question, but his gentleman's contempt for the Dutch as a low-born race of Burghers, embittered as it was by their suspicion of treachery, far from unjustifiable in similar cases, is quite as evident. If Gascoigne was free from the taint of his fellow officers, and there is no proof to show that he was not, he was certainly strong where many men were weak.

It was well known among the English officers, serving in the low countries, that Elizabeth was only temporizing, and that she professed to have no real quarrel with Philip; the Queen's own policy was fast and loose: little better could be expected of her subjects. Gascoigne was certainly in the worst possible company and judging from the tone of the last portion of *The Fruites of the War*, we may, at least, doubt if he did not make a virtue of a necessity in the last act of his military career. Whetstone says — and we may well believe it — that Gascoigne was "the welthier not a whit" for his services abroad.[1]

A word must here be added of the poems in which these experiences are related. Both the *Journey into Hollande* and *Dulce Bellum* are in the sprightliest of narrative styles, although to be sure of comparatively little poetic value. The former is

[1] Whetstone's *Remembrance*, Arber ed., 19.

printed in the edition of 1575 among the *Hearbes*, the latter amongst the *Flowers*, probably from the higher estimation in which it was held by the author, and bears the following title: *The Fruites of Warre, written vppon this Theame Dulce bellum inexpertis.* Gascoigne borrowed his motto, as he himself tells us, from the *Adages* of Erasmus. Other 'fruits of war' appear among the *Weedes* as the *Fruit of Fetters, Complaynt of the Greene Knight, Farewell to Fansie*, none of which add greatly to Gascoigne's reputation as a poet.[1]

[1] All of these poems are reprinted in the first vol. of Hazlitt's ed.

VI.

THE QUEEN'S PROGRESS.

In the course of her royal progress, in July 1575, Elizabeth visited the Earl of Leicester at his castle of Kenilworth, and was there entertained with her court "for seventeen days together with all imaginable magnificance."[1] In these festivities Gascoigne took an important literary part, a full account of which has been left us in *The Princelye Pleasures at the Courte at Kenelwoorth. That is to say, the Copies of all such verses, proses, or poeticall inuentions, and other deuices of pleasure, as were there deuised, and presented by sundrie Gentlemen, before the Queenes Majestie: in the year 1575. Imprinted at London by Rychard Jhones and are to be sold without Newgate over against Saint Sepulchres Church, 1576.* Mr. Hazlitt informs us that but one copy of this edition is extant, and has taken his reprint from a later edition incorporated with *The Pleasauntest Workes of George Gascoigne*, 1587.[2] Mr. Hazlitt has cast some doubt upon Gascoigne's authorship of *the Princelye Pleasures* and the prefatory note of the printer to the edition of 1576, dated March 26 of that year, with which he appears to have been unacquainted, is of interest in this connection.[3] After stating how both he and other printers had been importuned to publish an account of this progress, 'Jhones' adds:—

I thought meete to trye by all meanes possible if I might recover the true copies of the same, to gratify all such as had requyred them at my handes, or might hereafter be styrred with a lyke desire. And in fine I have with much travayle presented and executed over and besides one

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[1] *Life of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, 1727, 92.

[2] Hazl., II. 91–134. Nichols prints from the same source.

[3] Hazl. *Notes*, 350 and 123.

morall and gallant devyce, which never came to execution, although it were often in readinesse [*i.e. Zabeta*].[1]

However, the connecting prose — and indeed this very 'note' — is much in Gascoigne's average style, the work was printed as his in 1587, and there is nothing in the printer's 'note' to disprove that Gascoigne collected and, so to speak, edited the work.[2]

In addition to Gascoigne's narrative of the *Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth* we have Laneham's or Langham's very interesting and quaint account, also contemporary, which presents the whole affair from another point of view and affords us at least one authentic anecdote of Gascoigne himself.[3]

It is not a little difficult to make out precisely the capacity in which Gascoigne took part in these festivities. Other verses of address to her Majesty were "deuised and inuented" by such men as "Master Hunneys, master of her Majesty's Chappell," "Master Badger of Oxenforde, Maister of Arte and Bedle in the same Uniuersitie," and "Master Ferrers sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court." Badger and Goldingham appear to have delivered their own lines, as did Gascoigne, in appropriate costume.[4] Gascoigne is evidently desirous that we

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[1] This 'note' has been reprinted entire by Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, III., preface, ix.

[2] *The Princely Pleasures* appears in the ed. of 1587 without title or pagination, showing in all probability that the impression is the same as that of the ed. of 1576.

[3] The following is the title of Laneham's work:—*A letter: Whearin part of the entertainment untoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingwoorth Castl, in Warwick Sheer in this Soomerz Progress, 1575, iz signified: from a freend officer attendant in the Coourt, untoo hiz freend a Citizen, and Merchaunt of London.* The author elsewhere calls himself 'Mercer, Merchaunt-adventurer, and Clark of the Counsill chamber door, and also Keeper of the same.' Collier considers him as probably the brother of John Laneham the celebrated actor and "rhymer" against the Papists. *Bibliographical Account of Early English Literature*, II. 227 and 140. Laneham's Letter is reprinted in Nichol's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*

[4] *The Princely Pleasures*, Hazl., II. 92.

should think these verses and interludes of his off-hand productions; he says: "these verses were deuised, penned and pronounced by master Gascoigne: and that (as I haue heard credibly reported) vpon a very great sudden."[1] And again upon the failure of the performance of his "shew," *Zabeta:* —

The Earl commanded Master Gascoigne to devise some Farewell worth the presenting, whereupon he himself clad like unto Syluanus, god of the woods, and meeting her [the Queen], as she went on a hunting, spake (*ex tempore*) as followeth.[2]

It is likely, considering the length and importance of his various devices that Gascoigne had been regularly employed by Leicester, as a sort of temporary master of the Revels, during the Queen's sojourn at Kenilworth.

The festivities need not detain us long. "At her first entrance a floating island was discerned upon the Pool, glittering with torches, on which sat the Lady of the Lake, attended by two Nymphs, who addressed her Majesty in verse, etc. and the speech was closed with the sound of cornets, and other instruments of loud musick."[3] Gascoigne thus tells us of his own first appearance: —

Now to make some playner declaration and rehersall of all these things before her Majestie on the X. of Julie there met her in the forest as she came from hunting, one clad like a Sauage man, all in Iuie, who seeming to woonder at such a presence, fell to quarreling with Jupiter.[4]

This may be added from Laneham: —

For about nien a clock, at the hither part of the chase, whear torch-light attended, oout of the woods, in her Majestiez return, rooughly came thar foorth *Hombre Salvagio*, with an oken plant pluct up by the roots in hiz hande, himself forgrone all in moss and ivy; who, for parsonage, gesture, and utterauns besides countenaunst the matter too very good liking.

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[1] *The Princely Pleasures*, Hazl. ed., II. 103.

[2] *ibid.*, 123.

[3] *Life of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, 92.

[4] *The Princely Pleasures*, Hazl. ed., II. 96.

Laneham then details quite accurately, if rudely, the gist of Gascoigne's fine verses *in re* "Faunz, Satyres, Hamadryades" with "Echo" responses, and concludes:—

After this sort the matter, with littl differens, I gesse, saving only in this point, that the thing which heer I report in unpolisht proez, was thear pronounced in good meeter and matter, very wel indighted in rime. *Echo* finely framed most aptly by answerz thus to utter all. But I shall teli yoo, Master Martin, by the mass, of a mad aduenture. Az thiz Savage, for the more submission, brake hiz tree asunder, kest the top from him, it had allmost light upon her Highnes hors head; whearat he startld, and the gentleman mooch dismayd. See the benignittee of the Prins; as the footmen lookt well to the hors, and he of generositee soon calmd of himself—"No hurt, no hurt!" quoth her Highness. Which wordes I promis yoo wee wear all glad to heer; and took them to be the best part of the Play.[1]

On Tuesday was presented Goldingham's and Ferrer's "shew" of *The Lady of the Lake*, "in which there were on the Pool a Triton riding on a Mermaid eighteen feet long [sic] and Arion on a Dolphin;"[2] and on Wednesday was to have been presented Gascoigne's *Masque of Zabeta*, "but by meanz of weather not so cleerly dispozed, the matter was countermaunded again!" Gascoigne's own account of the matter is similar:—

Being prepared and redy (every Actor in his garment), two or three dayes together, yet neuer came to execution. The cause whereof I can not attribute to any other thinge then to lack of opportunitie and seasonable weather.[3]

Possibly, considering the strength of the allegory and the warmth of Iris' message to Elizabeth from Juno, already mentioned above,[4] an intimation that her majesty preferred not to be so directly courted in similitudes had most to do with the

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[1] Laneham's *Account of the Queen's Entertainment at Killingwoorth Castle*, 1575, 18, 20 and 21.

[2] *Life of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, 93.

[3] Hazl., II. 123

[4] See above, 49.

non-performance of *Zabeta*. Laneham seems to have been well apprized of the excellence of this unperformed work, and mentions it thus:—

> Had her Highnes hapned this daye to have cummen abrode, there was made reddy a Devise of Godessez and Nymphes, which az well for the ingenious argument, az for the well handling of it in rime and endighting, woold undootedly haue gained great lyking, and mooved no less delight: Of the particulariteez whereof I ceas to entreat, least, like the boongling Carpenter, by missorting the peecez, I mar a good frame in the bad setting up; or, by my fond tempring aforehand embleamish the beauty, when it shoold be reared up in deede.[1]

This matter failing, the Earl "commanded master Gascoigne to devise some Farewell worthy the presenting," and the poet, again clad as a woodman, in the character of Sylvanus, addressed the Queen in pròse, and, walking beside her horse as he spoke, led her to where "Deepe desire spake out of the Holly Bush," and a "consort of Musick," duly concealed, sounded in sweet strain. Her Majesty appears to have been very well pleased, and once "stayed her horse to favour Sylvanus, fearing least he should be driven out of breath by following her horse so fast. But Sylvanus humbly besaught her Highnesse to goe on, declaring that if hys rude speech did not offend her, he could continue this tale to be twenty miles long, and therewithall protested that hee had rather be her maiesties footeman on earth, then a God on horseback in heauen."[2] Emboldened by this sign of favor, Gascoigne, in his speech, touched lightly upon the theme of *Zabeta* and doubtless without displeasing the Queen, who dearly loved the heavy, classic allegory, the fashion of the time, when duly sweetened with the honey of personal flattery.

Here Gascoigne's account of *The Princelye Pleasures* ends, though Laneham continues with a detailed account of the

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[1] Laneham's *Account of the Queen's Entertainment*, 48.

[2] *The Princely Pleasures*, Hazl. ed., II. 126.

"queast of Bears," "the gunshot and fire-work," the tumbling of an Italian, "a countrie Brideale," running at Quintine, and Morrice dancing, besides the ancient *Hox Tuesday Play* of the Coventrie men, representing the destruction of the Danes, and an elaborate species of Masque, in which the entire Pagan theogony descend, from Jove to Pan and Polyphemus to do homage and pay tribute to her terrestrial Majesty, Queen Elizabeth. After detailing the Queen's knighting of several gentlemen, an old chronicler concludes : "and she also touched nine of the King's evil." [1]

Continuing her progress, Elizabeth reached Woodstock in September, where Gascoigne, assuming a garb similar to that worn by him at Kenilworth, "pronounced the *Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte*" before her majesty, "wherewith," he tells her in his dedication, "I saw your learned judgment greatly pleased." [2] Gascoigne followed up the favorable impression which the delivery of the *Tale* had produced upon the Queen by translating the story into French, Latin, and Italian, prefixing to these translations and the English original a dedication to the Queen and some verses. The whole was then beautifully engrossed and embellished with emblematic drawings and the manuscript presented to Elizabeth as a New Year's gift, January 1, 1576. This MS. does not appear to be in Gascoigne's hand, although his autograph signature is subscribed to the dedication.[3] It is now in the British Museum,[4] and was printed for the first time by Nichols in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.* Hazlitt has reprinted the *Tale*, with reproductions of the original emblematic drawings.[5] The story is an allegorical romance of no unusual merit, and whether Gascoigne's own or borrowed from some earlier source need not detain us here.

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[1] Strypes' Annals, ed. 1725, II. 394.

[2] Hazl., II. 139.

[3] Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*, 1876, 179.

[4] 18 A. XLVIII.

[5] Hazlitt's *Gascoigne*, II. 135–170.

This is the guise in which Gascoigne wishes to be recognized by royalty: —

Behold here (learned pryncesse) nott Gascoigne the ydle poett, wryting tryfles of the greene Knighte, but Gascoigne the Satyricall wryter, medytating the Muse that may expresse his reformacõn: forgett (most excellent lady) the poesies wch I have scattered in the world, and I vowe to wryte volumes of profitable poems, wherewth your majestie may be pleased. Only employ me (good Queene) and I trust to be proved as dillygent as Clearchus, as resolute as Mutius, and as faythfull as Curtius. your majestie shall ever fynd me with a penne in my righte hand, and a sharpe sword girt to my left syde, *in utramque paratum* as gladde to goe forwards when any occasion of your service may dryve me, as willing to attend your person in any calling that you shall please to appoint me. My vaunting vayne being nowe pretty well breathed, and myne arrogant speeches almost spent, lett me most humbly beseech yor highnesse that you vouch safe to pardon my boldnesse and deigne to accepte this my simple new yeares gift.

Some newes may yt seeme vnto your majestie that a poore gentleman of England withowt travell or instruction (lattyne except) should any way be able to deale with so manye straunge languages, more newes should yt be to my friends if they heard that any virtue had advanced me to your service, etc.[1]

Mr. Hazlitt has a note upon *The Hermit's Tale,* which would deserve no notice were it not for the misfortune that Gascoigne, like several others of our earlier authors, is accessible only in Mr. Hazlitt's slipshod editions. I transcribe the note in full.

It will be seen that there is much sameness of treatment and character between the present production and the *Pleasures at Kenilworth.* In both, Gascoigne seems to have impersonated a wild man; and there are other tolerably obvious resemblances. Gascoigne's work has always a strong personal complexion and bias, and even in preparing a royal entertainment, the poet could not refrain from bringing into the foreground his own pretensions and need of patronage.[2]

The remark on the sameness of treatment in the two productions, while perfectly true, is not referred to the real cause.

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[1] *ibid.* [2] *ibid.*, 135.

Gascoigne had been favorably noticed by the queen at Kenilworth; she may have inquired his name. An opportunity being offered by his patrons again at Woodstock, the poet deliberately assumed a garb and a story which should most readily recall his identity to the mind of Elizabeth. "His own pretensions and need of patronge" were precisely the occasion of the meeting, but neither were obtruded into *The Hermit's Tale*, appearing only in the dedication which was afterwards presented to her majesty with the translations, and probably only after an intimation that such a gift would be likely to advance his interests. In short the presentation of *The Hermit's Tale* was no more or less than a petition of the poet for employment in the royal service, and the translations into several tongues a proof to her majesty of Gascoigne's competence for some foreign appointment. Cf. Hazlitt's words: "nor does it appear anywhere that the author derived any beneficial result from his oblation to royalty," I. xxvi., with Gascoigne's express mention of the hours "which I spent this somer in your service." Ded. of the *Grief of Joye* to the Queen. The Latin version of the tale is good, the Italian and French singularly free and idiomatic for an Englishman, so much so indeed as to suggest that Gascoigne may have had some help in these linguistic exercises intended for the eye of royalty. Be this as it may, the poet's knowledge of foreign tongues appears to have stood him in good stead during his captivity, and Whetstone bears witness to his "having" the "Latin, Italian, French and Dutch languages." If Gascoigne really was Walsingham's messenger to Antwerp in the following November,[1] a new light is thrown upon the whole subject. That the poet's necessities were pressing at this time, there is much reason to believe; indeed, one of his biographers says: "Soon after his return from the progress, he was imprisoned in the compter for debt."[2]

[1] Arber, *Steele Glas*, 19.

[2] *Athen. Cantab.*, I. 375.

There remains one matter of interest concerning *The Hermit's Tale.* Two years after the death of Gascoigne there appeared a pamphlet entitled: *A Paradoxe etc., Englished by Abraham Fleming. Hereunto is annexed the pleasant tale of Hemetes the Heremite, pronounced before the Queenes Majestie. Newly recognised both in Latine and Englishe by the said A. F etc. 1579.* "It looks," says Collier, "as if Fleming had become possessed of a copy, and had printed the tale as his own. What, however, he may mean by the word 'recognised' on the title-page is uncertain, but he has altered Gascoigne's language in a few places, not generally for the better."[1] No comment is necessary. Despite uncertainty as to the original of the tale, it is highly improbable that Gascoigne should have appropriated the work of Fleming for an occasion of such personal moment as that of the presentation at Woodstock.

[1] *Bibliographical Account of Early Engl. Lit.*, II. 28. On the next page Collier gives some instances of these changes which confirm his statement.

VII.

THE STEELE GLAS AND THE GRIEF OF JOYE.

ALTHOUGH sly sarcasm and not unsuccessful satire is one of the pervading qualities of Gascoigne's writing, he has left but two works of any length properly deserving the title, satires. The first is the well known *Steele Glas*, on which his claims to remembrance have hitherto chiefly depended; the other, a longer, uncompleted work entitled *The Grief of Joye*, as vigorous a production, if less comprehensive in design. Both satires are the work of the year 1576, in earnest of a resolution thenceforth to bestow his time and talents "in matters both serious and moral" thus "to make amends for the lost time which I misbestowed in writing so wantonly."[1]

The Steele Glas was published with *The Complaynte of Phylomene* under the date April, 1576, and dedicated to his early patron, Lord Grey of Wilton.[2] The poem has been frequently described since the days of Warton. It is noteworthy as one of the earliest specimens of English blank verse, and as the only non-dramatic poem of any length in that metre before Milton, if we except the topographical verses, entitled *The Tale of Two Swans*, published in 1590 by William Vallans.[3] Gascoigne's poem has the further distinction of being one of the earliest regular verse satires in the language; not, however, the earliest as suggested by Hallam and others, for this dis-

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[1] *A Delicate Diet etc.*, ed. 1576 Preface. See also the prefatory matter to both poems. *ibid*, 173 and 255.

[2] In this ed. the cæsura is marked throughout by means of a comma; the satire was published again in 1587 in Black Letter, both separately and as part of *The Whole Workes of George Gascoigne.*

[3] Warton, *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, IV, 53. See also Collier, *Poetical Decameron*, I, 94, as to this topic; G. thus appearing the fourth writer of non-dramatic blank-verse in English.

tinction probably belongs to Wyatt and secondly to Hake.[1] In his "Epistle Dedicatorie," Gascoigne makes an open confession of his misgoverned youth and finds in "magnanimitie" and "industrie" that which forbids him to despair. He offers his work for this special end, that "when the vertuous shall perceive indeede how I am occupied, then shall detraction be no lesse ashamed to have falsely accused me, than light credence shal have cause to repent his rashe conceypts: and grantie the judge shal not be abashed to cancel the sentence unjustly pronounced in my condemnation."[2]

The design of *The Steele Glas* is excellent, although scarcely original, as the age abounded in "glasses" and "mirrors," from the non-extant *Speculum Principis* of Skelton to the various *Mirrors, for Magistrates*, for *Man*, of *Modesty*, *Monsters* and *Mutability* to the *Looking Glass for London* of a later date. *A Mirrowre of Gold* and a *Mirror of Glass for all Spiritual Ministers* had both appeared before Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*.[3] The gist of the satire consists in the contrast of the crystal glass, the appropriate mirror for

such as love to seme but not to be,[4]

and the "glas of trustie steele," wherein the true and honest, says the poet:—

may be bolde alwayes to looke,
Bycause it shewes all things in their degree

* * * * *

How foule or fayre soever that they are.[5]

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[1] See his three Satires, *Wyatt*, Aldine Poets, 186 *seqq.* and Warton, 46–7, and *Newes out of Pawles Church-yarde*, by Edward Hake, published in a second ed. in 1579.

[2] *The Steele Glas*, ed. Arber, 45.

[3] See Warton, index, *sub vocibus.*

[4] *The Steele Glas*, 55.

[5] *ibid.*

The satire begins with what Mr. Palgrave calls "a rather pretentious allegory on the birth of satire," in which is detailed how the sisters *Poesie* and *Satira* were born of *Playne Dealing* and *Simplicitie;* how *Poesie* was soon wedded to a heartless courtier, *Vayne Delight,* who was followed by "a comely crewe of guylefull wights" amongst whom were *Flearing Flattery, Sym Swash,* and *Detraction,* how *Satira* going to visit her sister was betrayed by *Vayne Delight,* as in the story of "Phylomene," (which Gascoigne was finishing at this time), and thenceforth was able to sing but

A playne-song note, which cannot warble well.[1]

Convinced that most human wrongs are due to the defective, if beautiful, visions reflected in glasses of crystal or "berral," the poet holds up his mirror of burnished steel before the commonwealth, reflecting therein kings, gentlemen, soldiers and peasants, widening these various classes to include all sorts and conditions of men, from the weakling prince and the corrupt judge to the dishonest tradesman and degraded villain of the soil. Apart from the pervading fervor and eloquence of his general invective and the candor with which he displays the canker of false-seeming that taints all grades of society, nothing could be finer that the courage and sincerity with which the courtly poet stretches forth the hand of fellowship to the plowman.

Therefore I say, stand forth Peerce plowman first,
Thou winst the roome by verie worthinesse.
Behold him, priests, and though he stink for sweat,
Distaine him not: for shall I tell you what?
Such clime to heaven, before the shaven crownes.
But how? forsooth, with true humility.[2]

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[1] *ibid.*, 53. A plain-song, is a song without discant or variation; see Nares Glossary *sub voce.*

[2] *ibid.*, 78.

The satire concludes with a noble description of an ideal clergy, "embodying by implication a fearful indictment of the clergy of his day." The short epilogue, which turns the glass of steel upon the fine ladies of the day, chiefly as to their extravagance and artificiality, though strongly written, has much the effect of an anti-climax and was probably an afterthought.[1]

The Steele Glas has been very variously estimated from Professor Minto's suggestion: the work "shows poor Gascoigne sunk deep in the slough of despondency and bitterness,"[2] which may be questioned alike from the resigned but hopeful spirit of the "epistle dedicatorie," and from the clear sighted thrusts of the satire itself, to Professor Morley's: "a clever satire, which upholds with religious earnestness a manly and true life."[3] Mr. F. T Palgrave after acknowledging "many curious details of the time, set forth in clear and simple language and a flowing though monotonous blank-verse," concludes: "it does not seem to me to show any real insight into its too ambitious subject and the style rarely rises above prose."[4] Whilst Mr. Arber, the editor of the excellent reprint of *The Steele Glas*, admitting that the poem "does not fang like Dryden's *Absolom and Achitophel*," declares it "a vigorous effort in favor of truth, right and justice."[5]

But a word need be added to these opinions. Gascoigne, as will shortly be shown, was in no state of supine despondency in the last active years of his life; his repentence was as sincere as the amendment of his life is undoubted. The suggested comparison with *Absolom and Achitophel* and Mr.

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[1] Alas, my lord, my hast was all to hote,
I shut my glasse before you gasde your fill.
ibid., 82.

[2] *Characteristics of English Poets*, 206.

[3] *Engl. Writers*, VIII. 280.

[4] *The Predecessors of Spenser*, Grosart's *Spenser*, IV. xxii.

[5] *The Steele Glas*, Arber's Reprint, Introd. 13.

Palgrave's discovery of a failure of insight may possibly both be referred to an implied comparison of a satire of general intent with that class of which the essence is purely personal caricature: Chalmer's statement, "there is a sly sarcasm in this piece which appears to me to be original,"[1] is better than such comparisons, as the *Glas* is certainly *sui generis* in this respect. No extravagant claim for Gascoigne as a satirist need be implied from the statement that he appears to have carried out a definite and not wholly unoriginal plan with an eloquence and sincerity which does credit to his powers as a moralist and as an author. Regarding Mr. Palgrave's impeachment of the poetry of the *Glas*, there are some who have ceased to look for that evasive principle in products such as satire; and it may be fairly doubted if Marston, Donne or Hall, as satirists, would yield much more of the essence of poetry than the author of *The Steele Glas*. Might we not do better to accept Gascoigne's own distinction of *Satira*, as the maimed and mutilated sister of *Poesie*, of the radiance of which latter there could be assuredly few better judges than the selector of the *Golden Treasury of English Lyrics* himself?

The blank-verse of the *Glas* does not differ from the measure of *Jocasta*. Mr. Palgrave is not unfair when he calls it "flowing though monotonous"; and these qualities are the result of certain general characteristics of the style and versification of Gascoigne: his directness, his close regard for the correspondence of word and logical accent, regularity in phrasing, and overwhelming proportion of end-stopped lines. Gascoigne's blank-verse is not inferior to that of Surrey or Sackville, although certainly surpassed by the sweep and vigor of Nicholas Grimald's two fragments in that metre, contributed to *Tottel's Miscellany*.[2]

[1] Chalmer's *Biographical Dict.*, ed. 1814, XV. 321.

[2] See Arber's Reprint, 120–25.

While an original for more than the general conception of *The Steele Glas* would probably be sought in vain, it is notable that much of the satire was worked up from material furnished by Gascoigne's own earlier poems. For instance the narrative *Dulce Bellum Inexpertis* furnishes at least two parallels, *e.g.*, the justification of honest manual labor (stanzas 65 and 66), and the successive injunctions to "Princes, Nobilitie, Prelacie," down to "Cominalty" (stanzas 19–31);[1] and in the poem, *A gloze upon this text, Dominus iis opus habet*, we have the condensed thought, which later served as the plan of the *Glas*, in a satirical review of the king, nobles, clergy, squire, each of whom as "lord, hath need," to the undoing of Piers plowman.

Good reason by my troth, when gentlemen lack groates,
Let plowmen pinche it out for pence, and patch their russet coates ![2]

The very title of the later satire is suggested in the line,

Thus learn I by my glasse that merrie meane is best.[3]

It is, moreover, possible that the passage, towards the end of the *Glas* in which Gascoigne satirizes the various tradesmen, each after his own particular weakness in dishonesty, was suggested by a similar enumeration in *The Wyll of the Deuill*.[4] Indeed this not too striking parallel has led to the claim that the latter pamphlet was really the composition of Gascoigne.[5]

[1] Hazl. I. 163 and 153–56.

[2] *ibid.*, 75.

[3] *ibid.*

[4] *e.g.* cf. this from the *Glas* (Hazl. II. 211):

When bakers make not branne beare price of wheat,
When brewers put no bagage in their beere,
When butcher's blowe not over al their fleshe,
When horse corsers beguile no friends with jades, *etc.*

with the following from the *Wyll:* "Item, I geve to all craftes men that fyght under my standard, a lying tongue and swearyng to the butchers, new fresh blood to over sprincle their stale meate . to kookes and pye bakers, good leve to shreade mouldy meale, to goldesmithes, brasse and copper inough to myngle with their rynges and plate and make them wey for advantage," etc. See Furnivall's ed. of *The Steele Glas*, 1871, 71–2.

[5] See below.

In conclusion of this subject I may state that the nature and subjects of Wyatt's satirical epistles differ sufficiently from *The Steele Glas* to make it improbable that Gascoigne found any suggestion there. Wyatt was, to a large degree, influenced by Horace, Gascoigne is very English ; and it seems likely, if sources must always be sought, that we shall find the inspiration of *The Steele Glas* and of much of the later vernacular satire in Skelton rather than in Wyatt. Indeed, Gascoigne's *Glas* shows, as Professor Morley has pointed out, the influence of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* in far more than the name of that personage.[1]

The companion piece of this publication is the *Complaynt of Phylomene*, which is denominated "an Elegye" and need not detain us. It was an old piece of work begun in 1562, continued in 1575, and finished in the year of its publication.[2] The *Complaynt* is notably inferior to *The Steele Glas*, and although the metre is somewhat disguised by a strong and regular cæsura, which justifies its printing in halves, is really in the familiar "Poulter's measure." The story is very well known.

Gascoigne's other venture in satire is *The Grief of Joye, Certeyne Elegies: wherein the doubtful delightes of mannes lyfe are displaied. Written to the Queenes moste excellent Majestie, 1576.* This work, "with the exception of some specimens furnished in Beloe's *Anecdotes*," was first printed by Mr. Hazlitt in his edition of the poems of Gascoigne, from the Royal MS. (18 A lxi.) in the British Museum. Mr. Arber states that "the royal titles and name are throughout written in

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[1] Note to *The Steele Glas* as published by Prof. Morley in *Cassel's Library of Engl. Lit.* 197. There were five editions of Langland between 1550 and 1562, the popularity of whose work was revived by the Reformation. A greater degree of similarity will be found between Edward Hake and Gascoigne as satirists.

[2] See Preface and conclusion, Hazl. II. 219 and 252.

[3] Arber, *Steele Glas*, 9.

gold," and Mr. Hazlitt adds that the MS. "even to the signature to the dedication is in the transcriber's hand."[1] Hazlitt is probably right in considering *The Grief of Joye* Gascoigne's latest production. The work, as appears from the dedication, was offered to Queen Elizabeth as a New Year's gift, January, 1577, "that I might make youre Majestie witnesse," says the poet, "how the interims and vacant hours of those daies which I spent this somer in your service have byn bestowed."[2]

After a preface in verse in which Elizabeth is treated to one of those pieces of bold poetical flattery, apparently so pleasant to her ear, Gascoigne states his theme in the line:—

There is a griefe in everie kind of joye.[3]

This subject is pursued through four "Songes," as he terms them, devoted to reflective diatribes upon the vanity of youth, beauty, strength and activity.[4] In the second "songe" alone does the poet once more yield to the flippant vein of his earlier verse, and this in a review of the ladies of Elizabeth's court. He soon returns to his general subject, discanting, often with considerable eloquence and picturesqueness of phrase, upon these old world-themes. The fourth "songe" is in part concerned with a half jocular attack upon the vanity of music and dancing. He is about to pursue his subject — which is certainly dwindling — into wrestling, leaping, riding, when the MS. breaks off suddenly in the midst of a sentence.[5] Gascoigne had commended his performance to her majesty's "noble sensure and gracious correction," and added, "therewithal I proffer in like manner that if your Majestie shall lyke

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[1] Hazl. I. v, xv, xxvi; II. 253–302; and *Index and notes, sub voce.*

[2] *ibid.*, 256.

[3] *ibid.*, 261.

[4] The "Songes" are entitled: *The Greeves or Discommodities of lustie Youth, The Vanities of Bewtie, The Faults of Force and Strength,* and *The Vanities of Activityes.*

[5] *ibid.*, 302.

the woorke, and deeme it worthy of publication I will then shrynke from no paynes, untill I haue (in suche songes) touched all the common places of mans perylous pleasures."[1] Either Gascoigne remained "without the confirmation of her Majesties fauorable acceptance,"[2] or, having received it, did not live to finish and publish his task.

The Grief of Joye is written in *rime royal* as became a gift to royalty; it is a very unequal poem, but abounds in passages which prove that Gascoigne was far from failing in power. While none of his later reflective poems are possessed of that "abundance of comic vigor and mad rollicking humor" which Professor Minto so commends in *Dan Bartholmew, The Grief of Joye*, and its lugubriously entitled "songes" are really far less "significantly cheerless" than that critic appears to have conceived them.[3]

I quote two stanzas from *The Vanities of Bewtie* as a specimen of Gascoigne's later verse, and for the concluding lines, in which may, I think, be discerned the germ of a fine piece of flattery, elaborated seven years later, and expressed dramatically by George Peele in his *Arraignment of Paris*.

My Queene her self comes formost of them all
And best deserves that place in eche degree,
Whose presence now must needes thy sprytes apall,
She is so faire and angell-lyke to see;
Behold her well, my Muse, for this is she
Whose bewties beames do spredd themselves full wyde,
Both in this Realme and all the worlde beside.

This is the Queene whose onely looke subdewed
Her prowdest foes withowten speare or sheeld,
This is the Queene whome never eye yet viewed,
But streight the hart was forst thereby to yeelde,

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[1] *ibid.*, 256.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] *Characteristics of English Poets*, 203.

This Queene it is who, had she satt in feeld
When Paris judged that Venus bare the bell,
The prize were hers, for she deserves it well.[1]

Mr. Hazlitt has included the series of poems from *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting*, printed in 1575 without name of author on the title, as Gascoigne's in his edition of the poet.[2] Besides the words: "George Gascoigne in the commendation of the Noble Arte of Venerie," prefixed to the first poem of the series, all the internal evidence seems to prove these poems his. Several of them are up to the best standard of Gascoigne's work, especially the animated account "of the place where and howe an assembly should be made in the presence of a Prince or some honorable person;"[3] whilst the cleverness with which the verses on the hart, hare, fox, and otter are turned to the means of cutting and earnest satire of the vices of mankind is in the best vein of the author of *The Steele Glas*.

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[1] Hazl. II. 269.

[2] This work, usually attached to *The Booke of Faulconrie and Hunting*, was republished in 1611. See Hazl. II. 303.

[3] *ibid.*, 307. Hazlitt has also included among "poems attributed to George Gascoigne" five signed "my lucke is losse," attributed by Haslewood to Barnaby Rich (see Introd. *Paradise of Dainty Devises*, xxii.); a *Complaint* and *Replye*, signed respectively "Troilus" and "Cressida," assuredly not Gascoigne's; and *A Description of the World*, the work of another Gascoigne (see MS. note at the end of a copy of G.'s works, ed. 1587 in the Brit. Mus.); all of these poems appeared in *The Paradise of Dainty Devises*. See Haslewood's ed., 100. Of the three commendatory sonnets which conclude Hazlitt's second volume there can be of course no dispute.

VIII.

GASCOIGNE AND THE SIEGE OF ANTWERP.

WE have seen Gascoigne reintroduced to the notice of Elizabeth at Kenilworth, favorably impressing her majesty there and at Woodstock in the autumn of 1575, and offering a petition for employment in his presentation of *The Hermit's Tale*, January, 1576. We have also noticed the thankful spirit of the dedication of *the Grief of Joye*, his New Year's gift to the queen the following year, and his express mention of his employment in her majesty's service. At this point an interesting question arises: was George Gascoigne, the poet, present at the sack of Antwerp, October 19 and 20, 1576? The following extract from the *Journal of Sir Francis Walsingham* is sufficient to raise enquiry:—

Wednesdale [November] 21, [1576] Mr. Gascoigne came out of the Low Countries with Lettres.[1]

Gascoigne's fitness for such employment is patent from his skill as a linguist, his late presence in Holland and his personal acquaintance there. His own silence as to such a commission would be sufficiently accounted for by the fact of its acceptance. On the other hand his literary activity, his attendance at court, and his "weake plight for health,"[2] and, the fact that a certain Robert Gascoigne was at various times between 1574 and 1578 thus employed as messenger, would seem to make the poet's employment, at least, doubtful.[3] However, the following piece of corroborative evidence is sufficient to show that a George Gascoigne was really Walsingham's messenger upon the occa-

[1] *Camd. Soc. Miscell.*, VI. 29. The month and year are supplied from the original headings.

[2] Dedic. to *The Droome of Doomes Daye*, quoted Arber ed., 8.

[3] *Cal. State Papers*, CXXV. Nos. 55–61.

sion noted in his diary, and farther, that this George Gascoigne came from Antwerp.

Paid uppon a warrant signed by Mr. Secretarie Walsingham dated at Hampton Court xxj° Novembre 1576 to George Gascoigne gent. for bringinge of Lettres in post for her Majesties affaires frome Andwarpe to Hampton Courte, xxl.[1]

But there is more behind. In the latter end of November of this year a small octavo pamphlet entitled *The Spoyle of Antwerpe Faithfully reported by a true Englishman, who was present at the same* was printed anonymously by Richard Jones.[2] From this pamphlet we learn that the writer was present in Antwerp "upon certain private affaires of mine own" and thus was "enforced" to witness the sack of the city. He relates:—

I was lodged in the English house, and had not gone abroad that morning by reason of weighty business which I had in hand that same day. At dinner time the merchantmen of my country, which came out of the town and dined in my chamber, told me that a hot scarmouch was begun in the castle yard, and that the fury thereof still increased and that the Spaniards were like to win the trenches. Whereat I stepped from the table, and went hastily up into a high tower of the said English house, from whence I might discover fire in four or five places of the town towards the castle yard; and thereby I was well assured that the Spaniards indeed were entered within the trenches. So that I came down and took my cloak and sword to see the certainty thereof, and as I passed towards the Bourse I met many, etc.[3]

After several adventures which we need not detail, he continues:—

Fearing to be surprised with such as might follow in tail of us, I gave adventure to pass through the said cross-street and (without vanity be it spoken) passed through five hundred shot before I could recover the English house.

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[1] Cunningham's *Revels Acc.*, Introd. xxxi, *Sh. Soc. Pub.*

[2] Reprinted in *The School of Shakespeare*, edited by R. Simpson No. I. *A Larum for London*, 19, note.

[3] *ibid.*, 25.

At my coming hither I found many of the merchants standing before the gate, whom I would not discomfort or dismay Nevertheless, I went to the governor, and privily persuaded him to draw in the company and to shut up the gates; the which he consented unto, and desired me, because I was somewhat better acquainted with such matters than the merchants, to take charge of the key. I took it willingly; but before I could well shut and bar the gates the Spaniards were now come forwards into the same street, and passing by the door, called to come in, bestowing five or six musket-shot at the gate, where I answered them, whereof one came very near my nose, and piercing through the gate strake one of the merchants on the head, without any great or dangerous hurt; but in the heat of the pursuit they passed on in chase to the new town.[1]

After a further account of the sack in general, he thus continues as to the injuries inflicted by the Spaniards upon "our own nation particularly":—

We were quiet in the house appointed for the mansion of English merchants, under safe conduct, protection and placard of their King; having neither meddled any way in these actions nor by any means assisted the estates of the country with money, munition, or any kind of aid.

* * * * * * * *

And all these, with sundry other allegations, we propounded and protested unto them before they entered the English house; desiring to be protected according to our privileges and grants from the king their master.

All which notwithstanding, they threatened to fire the house unless we should open the doors; and being once suffered to enter, demanded presently the ransom of 12,000 crowns of the governor they spared not with naked swords and daggers to menace the said governor, and violently to present him death because he had not wherewith to content their greedy minds. I will not boast of any help afforded by me in that distress; but I thank the Lord God who made me an instrument to appease their devilish furies. And I think that the governor and all the company will confess that I used mine uttermost skill and aid for the safeguard of their lives, as well as mine own.[2]

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[1] *ibid.*, 26.

[2] *ibid.*, 30.

After detailing the brutality of the Spaniards towards other English merchants and their unreasonable extortion, he concludes as to himself:—

> In these distresses I left them the twelfth of this instant November 1576, when I parted from them not as one who was hasty to leave and abandon them in misery, but to solicit their rueful causes here, and deliver them unto her Majesty and Council in such sort as I beheld it there.[1]

He adds that the tract was "written the 25th day of November, 1576."[2] In the Record Office there is [moreover] a letter from Thomas Heton, governor of the English house at Antwerp, to the Lords of the English Council, dated November 10, 1576, which contains the following passage:—

> The discourse of these tragedies we omit, and refer the same to be reported to your lordships by this bearer, Master George Gaston, whose humanity in this time of trouble we, for our parts, have experimented.[3]

Upon this state of facts the late Mr. Richard Simpson wrote: "George Gaston is, of course, the poet and soldier, George Gascoigne, for whom the same stationer, Richard Jones, had printed two other works in the same year, 1576: *The princely pleasures at the court at Kenilworth* and *A delicate diet for dainty-mouthde drunkards;*"[4] and added elsewhere: "Gascoigne appears to have been rewarded for his services on this occasion with a place at court."[5] On the strength of this, the librarians of the British Museum have assigned the prose tract, *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* to Gascoigne.[6] On the other hand the editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, after stating the case briefly, says; "All the best evidence shows,

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[1] *ibid.*, 31.

[2] *ibid.*, 32.

[3] Quoted by Mr. Simpson, *Introd. ibid.*, 13.

[4] *ibid.*, 13.

[5] *ibid.*, 32, note.

[6] And see *Dic. Nat'l Biog.*, XXI. 38. Mr. Herford accepts this view *Lit. Relations*, etc., 159, note 3.

however, that Gascoigne in his last years was an invalid who moved about very little and spent most of his time in pious exercises."[1] It is but fair to mention that neither of these authorities seem to be aware of the entry in Walsingham's journal or his warrant for the payment of the expenses of the messenger from Antwerp, both of which are quoted above.

The question is by no means an easy one, as several difficulties meet us at the threshold. Without doubt the writer of the tract was of a station, if not by birth, by position decidedly above that of the merchants in the English house. This is to be inferred from the governor's act in intrusting him with the key of the gate and in asking his intervention to save the lives and property of the occupants. It is evident, moreover, that, had the writer been a very young man, unless of very disproportionate rank, such duties would hardly have devolved upon him. Gascoigne's years and social position were not inconsistent with the authorship of *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*. Again, Mr. Simpson states that the tract is "evidently written by a soldier;"[2] and, it must be confessed, that the writer exhibits a precision and familiarity with his subject in treating of the various forces and their movements, which could scarcely be expected in a civilian. To this may be added the admiration which he displays for the military discipline and prowess of the Spanish soldiery, despite his horror at their barbarities.[3] On the other hand, if this well-born soldier was really the poet, his interest in the pecuniary losses of "the merchantmen" was infinitely greater than any interest which he had ever taken to prevent the dissipation of his own fortune in previous

[1] I confess to being at a loss for the source of this last remark, as I am unable to find Mr. Simpson's "place at court," even if we grant his employment by Walsingham as a Messenger between Antwerp and Hampton Court.

[2] *A Larum for London*, 13.

[3] Mr. Simpson states that the map or plan of the counterscarf is missing in the copy of *The Spoyle of Antwerpe*, in the British Museum.

years; and his ludicrous, and, to all appearances, innocently ludicrous account of the manner in which "the flock of fliers bear me over backwards and ran over my belly and my face, long time before I could recover on foot," and again "bare me on my nose, and ran as many over my back as erst had marched over my guts," [1] is as certainly unsoldierly in thought as it is uncourtly in expression. That he "got up like a tall fellow and went with them for company," was assuredly becoming the writer's discretion; but the reciting of it thus baldly is scarcely in keeping with the adventurous character of the man whose personal bravery was rewarded by the Prince of Orange, and whose account of his own military operations is generally brief or extenuating where recounting misadventure.[2] That the author of *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* speaks French and misquotes Spanish,[3] both of which Gascoigne might have done, of course proves nothing, but it may well be doubted if the poet could have spoken accurately of having private business in Antwerp: the gentry of Elizabeth's reign were not wont thus to speak of their doings.

Nor would it be well to forget, in such a connection as this, the cumulative value of internal evidence, fallacious as such evidence is likely to prove if allowed undue weight. The prose style of the author of *The Spoyle of Antwerpe* and that of the poet, Gascoigne, certainly agree in one very important particular: their general and uniform excellence. And yet *The Spoyle* is a plain, straightforward narrative, apparently written by an educated but not a learned man, who observed closely, arrayed his facts logically and imbued his work with a spirit of almost Puritanic piety. Notwithstanding the Calvinistic flavor of *The Glasse of Government* and the undoubtedly moral and pious spirit of many of Gascoigne's later prose writings, there

[1] *A Larum for London*, 26.

[2] See *Dulce Bellum, etc.* Hazl. ed., 149 *et passim*.

[3] *A Larum for London*, 25 and 15 and note.

seems a difference between the piety of the Puritan and that of the repentant courtier. Gascoigne never shows himself so wanting in grace, so wholly unadorned, so dismally devoid of humor as the author of this tract; and a comparison of the *Spoyle of Antwerpe* with the undoubted prose of Gascoigne leaves in my mind a doubt that the poet, whether he was Walsingham's messenger or not, was the author of this tract.[1] In short to those more skilful in these matters must be left the decision as to how far grace, humor, and, with submission, euphuism of style might have been startled out of a man, who had just witnessed horrors such as those of the sack of Antwerp.

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[1] There was another George Gascoigne, of the Middle Temple, alive (if we are to believe a MS. note in the British Museum copy of Gascoigne's poems, ed. 1587), as late as 1619. This Gascoigne was the author of the verses, *A Description of the World*, printed by Hazl, II. 334.

IX.

THE DISCOURSE OF DISCOVERIE AND LATER PROSE.

THE year 1576 marks the heighth of Gascoigne's literary activity; a completed collection of his *Posies*, verse, prose and translation issued in quick succession from his ready pen; whilst the expectation of royal patronage quickened his endeavor to make a permanent reputation as an author upon the basis of his earlier and somewhat scandalous notoriety. I have already noticed Gascoigne's later poetry; it remains to consider the several interesting monuments of his original prose and translation.

In the spring of this year, Gascoigne procured the publication of a pamphlet under circumstances which call for notice here. The pamphlet is entitled *A Discourse of a new Passage to Cataia. Written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight.* Quid non? — *Imprinted at London for Richarde Jhones, A.D. 1576, Aprilis 12*, and is in form a letter to Sir Humphrey's brother, Sir John Gilbert.[1] To this Gascoigne prefixed an epistle and what he calls "a propheticall sonet of the same George Gascoigne upon the commendable trauaile which Sir Humfrey Gilbert hath disclosed in this work."[2] Let us hear Gascoigne's own statement first, which I am the more willing to give almost entire, as it has never been reprinted, and as it affords as favorable a specimen of his prose as could well be found. After a brief and well worded *exordium*, he thus explains the circumstances of the writing and publication of the pamphlet.

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[1] See Collier's *Bibliographical Account of Early English Lit.*, II. 55-6.

[2] Reprinted by Hazlitt, II. 337.

You must herewith vnderstand (good Reader) that the authour hauinge a worshipfull Knight to his brother [*i.e.*, Sir John Gilbert, of the Compton], who abashed at this enterprise (as well for that he himself had none issue, nor other heier whome he ment to bestow his lands vpon, but onely this Authour, and that this voyage then seemed strang and had not beene commonly spoken of before, as also because it seemed vnpossible vnto the common capacities) did seeme partly to mislike his resolutions & to disuade him from the same: thereupon he wrote this Treatise vnto his saide brother, both to excuse and cleare himselfe from the note of rashnesse, and also set downe such authorities, reasons and experiences, as had chiefly encouraged him vnto the same, as may appeare by the letter next following, the which I have here inserted for that purpose. And this was done about vij yeares now past, sithence which time the originall copies of the same haue lien by the authour as one rather dreading to hazard the Judgements of curious perusers, then greedie of glorie by hasty publication.

Now it happened that myself being one (amongst manie) beholding to the said S. Humfrey Gilbert for sundrie courtesies, did come to visit him in winter last past at his house in Limehowse, and beeing verie bolde to demaunde of him howe he spente his time in this loytering vacation from martiall stratagemes, he curteously tooke me vp into his studie, and there showed me sundrie profitable and verie commendable exercises, which he had perfected painefully with his owne penne: And amongst the rest this present Discoverie. The which as well because it was not long, as also because I vnderstood that M. Fourboiser (a kinsman of mine) did pretend to trauaile in the same discouerie, I craued at the said S. Humfreyes handes for two or three dayes to reade and to peruse. And hee verie friendly granted my request, but stil seming to doubt that thereby the same might, contrarie to his former determination, be Imprinted.

And to be plaine, when I had at good leasure perused it, and therewithal conferred his allegations by the Tables of Ortelius, and by sundrie other Cosmographical Mappes and Chartes, I seemed in my simple iudgement not only to like it singularly, but also thought it verie meete (as the present occasion semeth) to give it out in publike. Whereupon I haue (as you see) caused my friends great trauaile, and mine owne greater presumption to be registered in print.

But since I haue thus aduentured both his rebuke and mine owne reproofe, let me thus muche alledge in both our defenses.

1. First it is but a Pamphlet, and no large discourse, and therefore the more to be borne withal: since the faults (if any be) shall be the fewer, because the volume is not great.

2. Also it was meant by th'autour, but as a private letter vnto his Brother for his better satisfaction: and therefore his imperfections therein (if any were) are to be pardoned, since it is very likely that if he had meant to publish the same, he would with greater heede haue observed and perused the work in euerie parte.

3. Again, it cometh foorth without his consent: So that he had neither warning nor time to examine, nor yet to amende anie thing that were worthie misliking.

4. Furthermore it treateth of a matter whereof no man hath heretofore written particularly, nor showed anie approved reason for the same. So that not onely his trauaile and paine are verie commendable (who out of sundrie authorities woulde gather one reasonable conjecture), but also the worke is not to be thought bareine, although it doe not fully prove so much as may be expected, since he that ploweth in a flintie fielde, speedeth well if he reap but an indifferent crop.

5. And last of all it is to bee considered, that of things vncertain, the greatest clerke that euer was could write but probably.

In the next paragraph he states that he has "preposterously answered such obiections as might be made against it" *i.e.*, the work. He concludes:—

All whiche, together with the frendly constructions of th'authours trauaile and my boldnes, I commend (gentle reader) vnto thy curteous consideration, wishinge vnto thee much profite by perusing this treatise, vnto the authour, much prayse according to his deserts, to my kinsman (who nowe attempteth to proue the same discouerie) happy returnes, and to myselfe, some thanks and none ill will, for my presumption.

So that the Author being thereby incouraged, may be the more willing hereafter to publishe some other well worthy which he hath in readinesse, and whereof hee hath made me alreadie an eyedwitness. Farewell.

From my lodging where I march amongst the Muses for lacke of exercise in martiall exploytes this 12. of April, 1576.

A friend to all well willing Readers,

GEORGE GASCOINE.[1]

Mr. Hazlitt, who calls this frank and clever piece of special pleading in confession and avoidance "a weakly apologetic

[1] *Epistle to the Reader.*

preface," balances "this rather irregular proceeding" with an entry of the entirely extraneous circumstance of Gascoigne's fidelity to his patron, Lord Grey in the latter's disgrace.[1] The editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography* is content to note judicially that Gascoigne's editing of the *Discourse of Discouerie* was "probably without Gilbert's authority";[2] while Mr. Fleay, Gascoigne's posthumous foe, insinuates quite gratuitously that "of course he pocketed the proceeds." Literary piracy, under any circumstances, is a contemptible crime, and, if we are to believe the story as it stands, we must admit what amounts to embezzlement and an almost unexampled betrayal of hospitality Notwithstanding, that a man of the literary repute of Gascoigne, of his social position, and so soon to become the recipient of the queen's favor, should descend to so ungrateful a theft, is at least on its face highly improbable, and in absence of further evidence we may be justified in asking some solution.[3]

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a man strongly possessed of one idea. He had petitioned the queen as far back as 1566 for privileges "concerning the discoueringe of a passage by the North [west] to go to Cataia"; but the queen had found other employment for him, sending him back to Ireland and, later, giving him charge of the English volunteers in the Netherlands.[4] If he were not already acquainted with him previously, Sir Humphrey must have met Gascoigne at the second siege of Goes (or Tergoes) in 1572, as Gascoigne was serving there as a captain among the English forces which Sir Humphrey

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[1] Hazl. ed., I. xxvi.

[2] Vol. XXI. 328, *sub* Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

[3] Mr. E. Edwards, in his *Life of Ralegh*, says that Gascoigne printed the *Discoverie* "possibly under the idea that he was doing a friendly thing," 36; see also Bourne's *English Seamen*, I. 112.

[4] Morgan and Coote II. 177–9; *Dic. Nat. Biog.* XXI. 328.

for a time commanded.[1] Sir Humphrey soon after returned to England in disgust, and, his petition still ungranted, lived in retirement at Limehouse, where Gascoigne found him as we have seen in the winter of 1574–75. *The Discourse of a Discouerie* "was written partly in support of his still unanswered petition of November 1566, and partly to quiet the fears of his elder brother,"[2] as Gascoigne details. "While yet in manuscript it appears to have been the chief incentive to a letter being addressed by the queen to the Muscovy Company, near the close of 1574, calling upon them either to dispatch another expedition in this direction, or to transfer their privilege to other adventurers. The bearer of this letter was Frobisher, to whom a license was granted by the Company 3 February 1575 with divers gentlemen associated with him."[3]

Elizabeth's reluctance to grant Gilbert's request that he sail himself may be referred to two reasons, with little violation of the probable fact. First, existing diplomatic complications with Spain, which had grown largely out of voyages such as that contemplated by Sir Humphrey, may have prevented the queen from granting his petition. Indeed we know that such complications did exist later, in 1579, and actually had the effect of delaying Sir Humphrey in port, even after permission to sail granted by the Lords.[4] Secondly, it may be inferred from what has been said above in relation to the rights of the Muscovy Company and their choice of Frobisher that, the privilege of undertaking such a voyage having been previously bestowed on the Muscovy Company, it was not in Elizabeth's power to revoke the grant, except in the event of their refusal

[1] *ibid.*, 328 and Edwards' *Life of Ralegh*, 77; *The Fighting Veres* by Markham, 45; and *English Seamen*, I. 113.

[2] *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, XXI. 328.

[3] *ibid.*, XX. 282, *sub* Martin Frobisher; and *English Seamen*, I. 119.

[4] Edward's *Life of Ralegh*, I. 78; see also an earlier protest against Sir Humphrey's scheme by the Company of Merchant Adventurers, Rec. Office MSS., Domestic, vol. XLII. No. 23, and *English Seamen*, I. 112.

to despatch such an expedition. They did not refuse, but sent Frobisher; and hence the queen was powerless to grant Gilbert's petition. It was all very well to send Frobisher: what Sir Humphrey wanted was permission to go himself. But as the Company's action amounted, in some sort, to an answer to his petition, a direct renewal of his request, at this moment, could not but lead to the royal displeasure.

It was needful, however that the matter be kept in agitation, and hence some means must be found to further his personal request. Sir Humphrey was not a literary man, and the appearance of such a work as the *Discourse of Discouerie* as his own acknowledged publication was not to be thought of for a moment: although the work must be plainly capable of identification as his. In this juncture, who so fitting to choose for editor as George Gascoigne, a soldier, a personal friend of his young half-brother, Walter Raleigh, a kinsman of Martin Frobisher, a literary man, and a gentleman by birth? Perhaps young Walter Raleigh suggested his friend to Sir Humphrey; perhaps, in conversation on the subject, Master Gascoigne bethought himself of a like surreptitious proceeding in the early publication of his own works, and inferred that a similar proceeding was the best applicable to this case. We have before us a sufficient reason, and the circumstances of all parties concerned are in perfect harmony with this explanation. Of course, when the matter was once decided upon, the Epistle must throw sand in the eyes of any who would be likely to inquire; and, in confounding an apology for the author with what should have been an apology for his own conduct, Gascoigne intentionally drew the reader's attention from too close an inspection into the circumstances of the case. That this publication really produced some effect is noticeable from the fact that, once launched as an author, Sir Humphrey set forth another "discouerie," November 6, 1577, *How her Majesty might annoy the King of Spain by fitting out a fleet of*

war-ships under pretence of a voyage of discovery, and so fall upon the enemy's shipping, destroy his trade in Newfoundland and the West Indies, and possess both Regions.[1] At length, other difficulties and especially diplomatic difficulties permitting,[2] "on 11 June 1578 Gilbert obtained from the queen his long-coveted charter for discovery, to plant a colony, and to be governor."[3]

Fortunately we do not need to leave this question here; there is a piece of evidence almost contemporary in Harvey's *Pierces Supererogation*:—

> Had he [Thomas Nashe] begun to Aretinize when Gascoine [began] to sonnet, &c. some parte of his phantastical bibble-bables and capricious panges might have bene tollerated in a greene and wilde youth: but the winde is chaunged, and there is a busier pageant vpon the stage. M. Aschams Toxophilus long sithence shot at a fairer marke: and M. Gascoigne himselfe, after some riper experience was glad to trye other conclusions in the Lowe Countryes: and bestowed an honorable commendation vpon Sir Humphrye Gilbertes gallant discourse of a discouery for a newe passage to the East Indyes.[4]

As noted above, it is highly probable that Harvey was personally acquainted with Gascoigne, and not impossibly the author of the commendatory Latin verses signed G. H., prefixed to the *Posies*. Such a man as Harvey considered Gascoigne's epistle "an honorable commendation," not a case of literary piracy and an unexampled betrayal of hospitality. Had Harvey known anything sinister about the matter, he would at least have been silent, as he was no enemy of Gascoigne's; that Harvey was in a position to know can scarcely be questioned.

In conclusion of this subject let me state that I do not claim for this explanation the force of a demonstration. It is simply an attempt to make clear a matter which, in the absence of

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic* CXVIII. 12.

[2] Edward's *Life of Ralegh*, 78–80.

[3] Hakluyt, III. 135–7 and *Dic. Nat. Biog.* XXI. 328.

[4] *Works of Harvey*, ed. Grosart, II. 96.

further evidence, is likely to remain in the long list of biographical detail headed "uncertain."

Two other pamphlets in prose followed *A Discourse*, of which first, *The Droome of Doomes Daye: wherein the frailties and miseries of mans life are lively portrayed and learnedly set forth. Translated and collected by George Gascoigne.* Tam Marte quam Mercurio, etc.[1] The work, which appeared in May, 1576, is of considerable length, and is thus set forth on the page following the title :—

This worke is divided into three parts the first whereof is entituled : The view of Worldly Vanities, exhorting us to contempne all pompes, pleasures, delights and vainties of this lyfe. And the second parte is named the Shame of Sinne, displaying and laying open the huge greatnesse and enormities of the same, by sundrie good examples and comparisons. And the third parte is called the Needles Eye, wherein wee are taught the right rules of a true Christian life, and the straight passage into everlasting felicitie.[2]

In the dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Bedford, the author tells how "tossing and retossing in my small library, amongst some bookes which had not often felt my fingers endes in xvi years before, I chaunced to light upon a small volume skarce comely covered and wel worse handled." He further informs us that the book was "written in an old kynde of caracters, and so torne as it neyther had the beginning perspicuous nor the end perfect." He was therefore unable to give its author ; but translated it "for the general commoditie," and "thought mete to entytle it the *Droome of Doomes Daye*."

The first part of the *Droome* is easily referable to Innocent III.'s *De Contemptu mundi sive de miseria humanæ conditionis ;* and a comparison of Gascoigne's translation proves the poet to have been both careful and accurate in his work. Not so, how-

[1] *The Droome* appeared in a second imprint in 1586, "Imprinted by John Windet for Gabriel Cawood," the original publisher. It has never been reprinted. Brydges mentions a third ed. without date. *Restituta*, IV. 306. Brydges, who did not know G.'s original, is quite eloquent on the learning and piety of the poet.

[2] I. ed. 1575, first leaf.

ever, the other two parts, the originals of which I fail to find in the writings of Innocent. It is likely that Gascoigne's original contained the work of several authors, although there is evident design in the collection and succession of the three tracts. It is a curious coincidence that Innocent's *De contemptu mundi* should have been translated and published independently in the very same year of the appearance of the *Droome*, by one H. Kenton, and entitled, *The Mirror of Man's Lyfe*. Kenton mentions his original without naming the author.[1]

In *The Droome of Doomes Daye*, Gascoigne evidently found the passage that suggested the selection of his next translation,[2] which he called *A Delicate Diet for Daintie mouthde Drunkards, wherein the fowle abuse of common carowsing and quaffing with hartie draughts is honestly admonished*.[3] This work, which may be described as one of the earliest temperance tracts in the language, is dedicated "to the right worshipful, his singular good friend Lewes Dyve of Broomeham," and is a translation of the epistle of Saint Augustine, *De Ebritate*. The translation is at times free and very spirited, the now broken courtier evidently writing from that conviction which comes with dearly bought experience. I can not forbear a short passage, which for swing and ease of style is alone enough to confute the platitudes concerning the late development of English prose: —

Such is the very nature and property of sinne generally (but of this sinne especially) that where it once getteth the maistry and upper hand by continuall custome, it hardeneth the heart, blindeth the eyes, amaseth the understanding, bewitcheth the sences, benoometh the members, dulleth the

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[1] Both Kenton's and Gascoigne's translations are in the British Museum. Innocent's (Lothario Conti's) treatise has been edited by Achterfeldt, Bonn, 1855.

[2] "What is more filthie than a drunkard? Whose breathe stinketh, and his body trembleth. Promising many things and bewraying all things, his minde beinge altered and his face transformed. For there is no secret kept where drunkenesse reigneth;" etc. Ed. 1586, 34. There is no pagination in the ed. of 1576.

[3] *A Delicate Diet* is dated Aug. 22, 1576, and was published by G.'s old publisher, Richard Jones. The preface is interesting for an account of his earlier works.

wits, provoketh unto beastlinesse, discourageth from vertuous exercises, maketh lovely to seem lothesome, hasteneth crooked age, fostereth infirmities, defyleth the body openly and woundeth the soul unseen.[1]

The *Delicate Diet* was Gascoigne's last prose work, as he appears thereafter to have been engaged upon his presentation poem, *The Grief of Joye.*

There remain two works which have been ascribed to Gascoigne. *An Almanac and Prognostications, London, 1570,* is mentioned as the poet's by the editor of the *Athenæ Cantabrigiensis,* on what authority I have been unable to discover.[2] The other work calls for more remark. It is entitled, *The Wyll of the Deuill, with his ten detestable commandments: directed to his obedient and accursed children, and the Rewarde promised to all suche as obediently wyl endeuer themselves to fulfil them. Very necessarie to be read and well considered of all Christians.*[3]

This tract was printed by Richard Jones, but the title exhibits no date. As Jones published between 1567 and 1594,[4] it may have appeared in Gascoigne's lifetime. From Maidment, who argues against the assignment of the authorship of the *Wyll* to Gascoigne, we learn that the matter rests upon the slender authority of a sales catalogue.[5] Better reasons than Maidment's are found in the design and execution of the work, both of which are altogether inferior to Gascoigne ; in the hot spirit of anti-popery, no where else discoverable in Gascoigne ; and in the language and versification, which point to an earlier

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[1] *A Delicate Diet,* ed. 1576, 11.

[2] I. 376. Possibly because of the apochryphal story of G.'s intimacy with Allen? See above, 6.

[3] The book is extremely rare, and was reprinted from the copy in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, by Maidment in a private ed. of forty copies, in 1828.

[4] Fleay, *Hist. of the Stage,* 383.

[5] Introd. to his reprint of the *Wyll,* first page. Paterson's *Cat. Bibl.,* Beauclerk, 1781. I., No. 4137.

period.[1] The editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography* comes to the same conclusion and assigns the *Wyll of the Deuill* to Humphrey Powell. Gascoigne may have been fathered with this production from the distant parallel between the *Wyll* and *The Steele Glas*, already noted above.

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[1] Cf. "the trusty friends of the devil," Emserus, Ekius and Faber, the "Hammer of the Heretics," all mentioned in the *Wyll*, and all dead before 1545. Bishop Gardiner is likewise one of "the friends." Here is a specimen :—

> Yet thou shalt die forever yet never be dead,
> Thy meat shall be toades, thy drinke boyling lead,
> Take no thought for the Bloode that Christ for thee shed,
> And straight to my kingdome thou shalt be led.

X.

LAST DAYS AND CONTEMPORARY ESTEEM.

THE beginning of the year 1577 found Gascoigne once more received at court and reinstated in the favor and employ of his sovereign. Moreover two or three years of literary industry, upon the basis of his earlier poetical reputation, had made him the foremost author of his day. Unfortunately Gascoigne did not long survive his altered fortunes. As early as May, 1576, he mentions his "weake plight for health," which at that time prevented him from attending "the dayly proofes" of his *Droome of Doomes Daye*.[1] His prefaces exhibit the fact that, during the last years of his life, much of his time was spent "among my books here at my poore house in Walthamstow."[2] This, it will be remembered, was the property of his wife, and, as appears from the will of her former husband, was a home of substantial comfort. Here doubtless it was that young Nicholas Breton took up the broken career of the now failing poet, to carry into another and far greater age the versatility and not a few of the mannerisms of his step-father.

From George Whetstone's *A Remembraunce of the wel imployed life, and godly end of George Gascoigne Esquire* may be gleaned a few facts as to the poet's last illness, which was apparently lengthy and attended with much wasting and pain. Whetstone defends his friend from the aspersions of those who "knew his life amis," denies that his "wanton layes, inductions were to vice," and calls them "the woes of loove, and not the wayes to love," especially dwelling on the moral tone of Gascoigne's later productions. The poet is made to say:—

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[1] Preface and Printer's Note, quoted by Arber, *Steele Glas*, 9.

[2] *Steele Glas*, Epistle Dedicatorie, Arber, 45.

I left this vaine, to path the vertuous waies:
The lewd I checkt, in Glas of government,

* * * * * * * *

I wrought a Glasse, wherein eche man may see,
Within his minde, what canckred vices be.[1]

Whetstone also fails not to deny the reports of Gascoigne's misconduct "among the drunken Dutch," nor to notice that Gascoigne's "slender gain a further witnes is," that the "rumours lewd which impayred his desart" in this respect were false. Gascoigne is made to say: "my wealth is small," and to bestow it, justly enough, upon his loving wife, "whose face I fain would see." The dying poet refers, likewise, to her Majesty's "rewardes beyond desarts" and conjures his son with his last blessing to serve God and discharge his father's debt of gratitude to the Queen.

George Gascoigne's death took place at Stamford, Lincolnshire, October 7, 1577, in the presence, possibly in the house, of George Whetstone, whither the poet had probably gone to benefit his health. Whetstone celebrated his friend, as Mr. Gosse says, "in the old dreadful manner." Perhaps Whetstone's epitaph of Gascoigne may be sufficient as a specimen:—

For Gaskoygnes death, leave to mone or morne
You are deceived, alive the man is stil:
Alive? O yea, and laugheth death to scorne,
In that, that he, his fleshly lyfe did kil.

For by such death, two lyves he gaines for one,
His soule in heaven dooth live in endles joye
His woorthy woorkes, such fame in earth have sowne
As sack nor wrack, his name can there destroy.

But you will say, by death he only gaines,
And now his lyfe, would many stand in stead:
O dain not Freend, (to countercharge his paynes)

[1] Arber ed., 19.

If now in heaven, he have his earned meade.
For once in earth, his toyle was passing great:
And we devourd the sweet of all his sweat.
Nemo ante obitum beatus.[1]

"George Whetstone had wealthy relations, at Walcot (four miles distant from Stamford) which parishes to Bernack, where the family of Whetstones usually buried and where a monument of the Elizabethan style of architecture still remains."[2] Gilchrist therefore conjectures "that George Gascoigne dying at Stamford was carried to Bernack by his friend and interred there in the family vault."[3] The same diligent inquirer, upon searching the parish register at Walthamstow, found no entry prior to 1650, and in the parish of Bernack found no register at all.[4]

Gascoigne's portrait, subscribed with his favorite motto, *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*, appears on the back of the title-page of the first edition of *The Steele Glas*, and exhibits a handsome man of soldier-like bearing. The editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that there is an engraved portrait of Gascoigne by Fry;[5] this I have not seen.

George Gascoigne was held in high contemporary estimation. Aside from the large number of commendatory verses prefixed to his *Posies* and to *The Steele Glas*, there is other abundant evidence of this. I have arranged some of the more important allusions to Gascoigne, as nearly chronologically as circumstances would permit, omitting the commendatory verses collected in Hazlitt's edition, and Whetstone's *Remembraunce*.

The earliest posthumous mention of Gascoigne is found in the induction succeeding Thomas Blener Hasset's *Complaynt*

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[1] Arber ed., 29.

[2] Brydges says that he "searched the registers of Stamford (which are unusually perfect) for the name of George Gascoigne" in vain. — *Cen. Lit.*, II. 5.

[3] *Athen. Oxon.* ed. 1813, II. 437.

[4] *Cens. Lit.*, II. 238.

[5] Dic. Nat'l Biog., XXI. 39.

of Cadwallader, written in the year of Gascoigne's death. The passage, which is interesting on other accounts, runs as follows:—

'O what brave beames of goodly tymber might be found amongst Churchyardes Chippes, if he had not affected the ryming order of his predecessors? Which Meeter made not onely hym inferiour vnto Horace, but it also made a great inequalitie to be betwixt Buchurst and Homer: betwixt Phaer and Virgill: betwixt Turberville and Tibullus, betwixt Golding and Ovid: betwixt George Gascoigne and Seneca.[1]

In the next year, as Warton puts it, Gabriel Harvey celebrates Gascoigne "as one of the English poets who have written about women";[2] and in 1579, Edward Kirk recognized Gascoigne as "the verie chefe of our late rymers" in his Glosse to the month of November of *The Shepherd's Calendar*:—

Philomele, the Nightingale: whome the Poetes faine once to haue bene a Ladye of great beauty, till rauished by hir sisters husbande, she desired to be turned into a byrde of hir name, whose complaintes be very wel set forth of Ma. George Gaskin, a wittie gentleman, and the verie chefe of our late rymers, who, and if some parts of learning wanted not (albee it is wel knowen he altogyther wanted not learning) no doubt would haue attayned to the excellencie of those famous Poets. [Presumably certain of the ancients mentioned previously.] For gifts of wit and naturall promptnesse appeare in hym aboundantly.[3]

William Webbe places Gascoigne after Skelton in an enumeration of the chief English poets, and says that the former was "as painefull a Souldier in the affayres of hys Prince and country, as he was a wytty Poet in his wryting." Webbe con-

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[1] Second Part of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. 1578, fol. 40. Blener Hasset also alludes to Gascoigne in his Epistle, *The author to his friend*, *ibid.*, "let Gascon and Churchyarde be forgotten."

[2] *History of English Poetry*, III. 309. Speaking of the books which should form a lady's library, Harvey writes:—

Chaucerusque adsit, Surreius et inclytus adsit
Gascoignoque aliquis sit, mea Corda, locus.

Χαῖρε *vel Gratulationum Valdensium*, 1578, Lib. IV. 22.

[3] *Works of Spenser*, ed. Collier, I. 134.

cludes, "whose commendations because I found in one of better judgement then my self, I wyl sette downe hys wordes and suppresse myne own," and he quotes Kirk in full, as above.[1] Puttenham, too, besides including Gascoigne in an enumeration of the "crew of courtly makers," commends him for "a good meeter and for a plentifull vayne."[2] In the same year, 1589, young Thomas Nash, just returned from his travels, writes an address *To the Gentlemen Students* as a preface to his friend's, Robert Greene's, *Menaphon*, wherein he speaks thus: —

> Whoever my private opinion condemneth as faultie, Master Gascoigne is not to bee abridged of his deserved esteeme, who first beate the path to that perfection which our best poets haue aspired to since his departure, whereto he did ascend, by comparing the Italian with the English, as Tullie did *Graeca cum Latinis*.[3]

Nash alludes to Gascoigne elsewhere.[4] In his later English writings, too, Gabriel Harvey is full of mention of Gascoigne, especially in *Pierce Supererogation*, *e.g.* "and shew him his well fauored face in a cristall as true as Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*";[5] "Had he begun to Aretinize when Gascoigne [began] to sonnet, Tourberville to madrigal, Drant to versify, etc.;"[6] "his gayest flowrishes are but Gascoigne's weedes;"[7] "In Grafton in Gascoigne Warner, and

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[1] *Discourse of English Poetrie*, 1586, ed. Arber, 33.

[2] *The Arte of English Poetrie*, 1589, ed. Arber, 75.

[3] *Works of Robert Greene*, ed. Grosart, VI. 20; where Nash apparently alludes obscurely to Gascoigne, under his motto, *Tam Marti quam Mercurio*, with this consoling quotation, *qui bene vult πολειν, debet ante πίνειν*, 23.

[4] See the quotation above from *Four Letters Confuted*, ed. Grosart, II. 253; *To the Gentlemen Readers*, *Strange Newes*, *ibid.*, 181, where Nash applies Gascoigne's motto, *Tam Marti*, &c., to himself; and again, *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication*, *ibid.*, 27.

[5] *Works of Harvey*, ed. Grosart, II. 73.

[6] *ibid.*, 96. See also *Works of Harvey*, as above, II. 57, and I. 146, in which note an allusion to Gascoigne's *Supposes*.

[7] *ibid.*, II. 115.

Daniel; in an hundred such vulgar writers, many things are commendable, divers things are notable, some things are excellent." [1] Finally, we hear that Senior Immerito himself "was one that could very well abide Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*." [2]

Besides a bare mention of his name between 1580 and 1600, in such books as *The Touchstone of Wit*, by Edward Hake, *The Enemie of Idlenesse*, by William Fulwood, *Wits Commonwealth*, Bodenham's *Belvédere*, and other contemporary works, Francis Meres mentions Gascoigne in his *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury*, 1598, three times, and praises him as "among the best poets for comedy," and "most passionate among us to bewail and bemoan the perplexities of loue." [3] It may be added that Meres' juxtaposition of names is instructive: "eloquent and witty J. Lilly, Lodge, Gascoigne, Greene, Shakespeare, etc.;" and again, "Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoigne, etc." [4]

It will be seen that the bulk of these quotations are favorable to the old poet. But he does not seem long to have withstood the changing tastes of the newer age, and we find Sir John Davies, as early as 1597, satirizing a "new fangled youth," for inconsistency in giving praise to "old George Gascoigne's rimes." [5] Drayton, too, satirizes Gascoigne and Churchyard (the juxtaposition of the two names seems inevitable):—

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[1] *ibid.*, 290.

[2] *ibid.*, I. 180.

[3] *Five Sections of Meres' Wits Treasury, Sh. Allusion Books, New Sh. Soc.*, Pt. I. 162.

[4] *ibid.*, xxiii and 151.

[5] The epigram concludes:—

> He takes tobacco, and doth wear a lock
> And wastes more time at dressing than a wench:
> Yet this new fangled youth, made for these times
> Doth, aboue all, praise old George Gascoigne's rhymes.
>
> *New Sh. Soc. Pub.*, "Forewords," VI. lxix.

> Gascoine and Churchyard after them again,
> In the beginning of Eliza's reign,
> Accounted were great meterers many a day,
> But not inspiréd with braue fire; had they
> Lived but a little longer, they had seen
> There works before them to have buried been.[1]

Indeed, Bolton, in his *Hypercritica*, does not hesitate to say, "among the lesser late poets George Gascoigne's works may be endured." [2]

Lastly, as late as 1615, we have a return to the earlier estimate of Gascoigne's talents in what follows, quoted from the translation of an Italian work of Benedetto Varchi, by R. T. Gent, entitled *The Blazon of Jealousy*: —

> Though this newe age hath brought more neat and tierce wits into the world, yet must not old George Gascoigne and Turberuile with some others be altogether rejected: since they first brake the ice for our quainter poets, who now write, that they may more safely swin through the main ocean of sweete poesy.[3]

It may be suspected that "R. T. Gent" had his thoughts, if not his eye, on the passage of Nash, cited above, when he penned this "censure."

Gascoigne's personal character has been sufficiently discussed. But one word remains. I have called Mr. Fleay the poet's posthumous foe,[4] not because I would take sides against the righteous zeal, much less against the remarkable powers of research of a scholar to whom all workers in this field owe an incalculable debt, but because, having given the old poet a bad name by the unearthing of certain ancient scandals, Mr.

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[1] *Elegies*, To my dearly loved friend Henry Reynolds, Esq., *Of Poets and Poesie*, Anderson, *Works of the British Poets*, III. 548.

[2] Haselwood, *Ancient Critical Essays*, II. 250.

[3] Quoted in Hawkins' *Origins of the Stage*, III. 1. See also a like allusion in Howes' *Stow's Annals*, ed. 1515, 811.

[4] See above, pp. 18–22, and *Biographical Chronicle of the Engl. Drama, sub voce.*

Fleay immediately proceeds to accept everything that can possibly be brought against Gascoigne as proved. Mr. Fleay believes the story of Gascoigne's early intimacy with "the prophecyer" and receiver of stolen goods, which I have shown to be highly improbable;[1] he accepts the *ex parte* statements of the objections against Gascoigne, "yt he ought not to be Burges," possibly no more than a political slander, as proved in every particular; doubtless to all the heinous crimes therein enumerated, spying, manslaughter, and atheism;[2] he apparently assumes that the inquiry before the Mayor of London, which was probably settled amicably, is a proof of Gascoigne's designed depredations on the estate of his step-children;[3] and he arraigns Gascoigne as "a coward, who took advantage of his absence from England to print his scurrilous libels with misleading signatures," when, in point of fact, it is more than likely from the custom of the time, and from Mr. Fleay's own admission as to the probable date of the occurrences of some of these "scurrilous libels," that they were well known, long before their publication, in manuscript.[4] Mr. Fleay further insinuates that Gascoigne's fortune was ill-gotten, and that he "of course pocketed the proceeds" of his publication of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's *Discourse*;[5] as to the former, of which it is sufficient to state that the insinuation is unnecessary; while the latter is certainly, at the least, wholly gratuitous. George Gascoigne was, without question, given to loose living in his youth, which was all the worse that he was not a little boastful of his exploits. He was immoral in an unmoral age; he was perhaps not over scrupulous in an age notorious for its un

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[1] *ibid.*, I. 237. See above, pp. 6–7.

[2] *ibid.*, 238.

[3] *ibid.*

[4] *ibid.*, 242.

[5] *ibid.* Mr. Fleay's words are, "He was disinherited; spent a fortune — whence obtained we know not," 237 and 238.

scrupulousness; but Gascoigne was sincerely penitent, if ever man has been penitent, and it becomes us not to judge too harshly "the lost time of a youth mispent."

George Gascoigne was not what Harvey or Kirk would have called a learned man.[1] His knowledge of Latin — "such lattyn as I forgatt at Cantabridge" — was good in an age in which it was a reproach not to know Latin well.[2] Whetstone in a marginal note states that his friend "had the Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch languages;"[3] and there is no question that Gascoigne posed as a linguist before the Queen, who was a very good judge of such matters. If the French and Italian versions of *The Hermit's Tale* are really Gascoigne's, they certainly prove him to have been uncommonly expert in an idiomatic use of both these tongues. However, it must be stated that Gascoigne nowhere shows a mastery of foreign literature, such, for instance, as Sir Thomas Wyatt displays; indeed it may be affirmed that, notwithstanding his imitation of Italian comedy, tragedy, and novel, Gascoigne is less Italianate than most of his contemporaries, and this because, for the most part, a strong individuality prevailed to keep him distinctly English. No better example of this could be offered than *The Glasse of Government*, in which, with German and Dutch Calvinistic models before him, Gascoigne contrived to produce a product still quite English in its moral and religious tone. Many passages show him to have been no careless student of the earlier literature of England, and we may feel sure that his position as a purest in language was both con-

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[1] See Kirk's strictures above, 103.

[2] Hazl., II. 139. Elsewhere he says: "Gentlewoman, you speak Greeke, the whiche I haue forgotten, and mine instructors are farre from me at present to expound your wordes." *ibid.*, I. 429. This evidently means that G. knew no Greek.

[3] *Remembraunce*, Arber's *Steele Glas*, 19.

scious and consistent.[1] It was certainly fortunate for the influence which Gascoigne exerted upon his age that he "smacks so little of the inkhorne."

Whilst drawing his models and inspiration from a diversity of sources,[2] it is not difficult at times to trace the origin of a design, or the immediate influence, under which a given work was produced. Thus the subject and general treatment of *Jocasta* are suggested in the prevailing taste for Seneca; the versification and conduct of the play, in minor matters such as the dumb shows, by the recent success of *Gorboduc*. *The Steele Glas* arises from the popular use of the word as a title for satirical or moral prose disquisition, the renewed popularity of *Piers Plowman*, and possibly from the favor with which Edward Hake's new *English Satyrs* in verse had been recently received. Indeed, despite Gascoigne's own laudation of

> the learned brayne
> Which joyneth reading with experience,

Professor Morley very justly remarks that "'the learned brayne' of the poet was exercised rather exclusively, at the time of the writing of the *Glas*, in culling allusions from the *Memorable Sayings and Doings* collected by Valerius Maximus."[3] In short nearly all the works of Gascoigne point to the characteristic of a clever, but far from scholarly, adaptation of material, happened upon by chance, to the immediate task in hand. No method, however, could have been happier than this in view of the age to come, as neither the scholarly spirit which sought

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[1] See especially the passage on Chaucer in the letter of "G. T.," prefixed to the ed. of 1572, and "if quicknes of invention, proper vocables, apt epythetes, and store of monasillables may help a pleasant brayne to be crowned with Lawrell, I doubt not but both our countrymen and countrie-language might be entronised amonge the old foreleaders unto the mount Helicon."

[2] G.'s versatility was recognized by his contemporaries; see the commendatory verses of N. R. to the *The Steele Glas*.

[3] See Morley's *Library of English Literature*, *Shorter Poems*, note, 191.

to build up an imitation of the ancients on English soil, nor a slavish adherence to modern foreign models, however admirable, could bring about the national spirit, out of which alone a great literature can arise.

The position of George Gascoigne in the history of English literature presents many considerations. As a lyric and erotic poet he continued the line of development set by Surrey and Wyatt, infusing into his verse a more thoroughly English spirit, and adhering to such older practices as alliteration and a profuse employment of idiomatic phrases and proverbs. The smoothness of Gascoigne's verse shows that he gave not a little attention to musical effect, and this, together with frequent happiness of phrase and figure, his sincerity and directness, occasional passion and genuine force and originality, seem to me sufficient to account for the estimation in which the poet was held by his contemporaries. I cannot but feel that Spenser, who "could very well abide Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*," was somewhat more affected by the old poet than Mr. Palgrave in his essay on *The Predecessors of Spenser* would have us believe. To mention but one instance, there had been no such conscious attention to the musical effect of words since the time of Chaucer, no such smooth fluidity of manner. Both these are characteristics of Spenser, although, to be sure, in an infinitely higher degree.

As a narrative poet Gascoigne's powers are even more pronounced. He has motion, wit and vivacity, and, if the current does eddy and swirl backward at times, it must be remembered that this was as much the spirit of the age as of the man. Gascoigne has been likened to Byron, and the comparison is not absurd, allowing for the differences of their times and the disparity of their poetical gifts. Besides the qualities of motion, wit and vivacity, just mentioned, which were assuredly Byron's, Gascoigne has a similarly pervasive sense of his own personality, a like facile, careless and happy flow of verse, a

similarly fluent, reckless, trivial, and flippant vein. If we add to this certain obvious similarities in the characters and lives of the two poets, the comparison is at an end; for nothing could offer a greater contrast than the scornful, merry cynicism of *Don Juan* and the contrite and moralizing repentance of many later passages of Gascoigne. As a satirist, the directness, sincerity and force of the poet have already been sufficiently set forth. A special interest attaches to *The Steele Glas* from its versification and its position amongst the earliest products of its class. Again, aside from the fortuitous prominence which belongs to such a drama as *The Glasse of Government*, for its unique position, Gascoigne's services to the drama are comprised in the adoption of Sackville's innovation of blank verse, and the introduction and admirable use of dramatic prose dialogue.

Nor are the prose writings of Gascoigne of less interest. The courtly phrase and clever wit and innuendo of many of the prefaces, the terseness and common sense of the little tract on versification, the vivacity of the prose narrative, *The Adventures of Master F. J.*, and the genuine eloquence of not a few passages of the later tracts and translations combine to show a grasp and facility in the use of prose, which is widely at variance with the involved periods of Gascoigne's contemporaries, the Latinists, and very much counter to that commonplace of the history of literature, that dates all excellence in English prose style from a time subsequent to the Restoration.

I would hence claim for George Gascoigne a position of peculiar significance in the history of English literature: (1) from his versatility in choice and his successful adoption of several forms and modes of literary expression, before his time unknown to the literature; (2) from his uniform treatment of his material, in an English spirit, alike removed from the pedantry of the scholar and the over-culture of contemporary foreign modes; and (3) from his consistent cultivation, in verse

and especially in prose, of a simple and direct yet graceful and idiomatic style. I grant that the second of these qualities was as much the result of the limitations of the poet's culture as of distinctive personal characteristics, and I admit that his writings are far from free of that alliteration and antithesis, that periphrasis and labored ease which, in later prose authors of the period, is popularly called euphuism; but when all has been said, whether as poet, dramatist, translator, moralist, satirist, or writer and editor of prose fiction or religious tract, we have in Gascoigne a merit of a very decided and distinctive kind, a merit that should warrant us in concluding with Nash: "Master Gascoigne is not to be abridged of his deserved esteeme, who first beate the path to that perfection which our best poets have aspired to since his departure."

APPENDIX.

THREE POEMS OF GASCOIGNE HERETOFORE NOT REPRINTED.[1]

A TRANSLATION OF ARIOSTO ALLEGORIZED.[2]

When worthy Bradamant, had lookéd long in vain,
To see hir absent love and lord, Ruggier, return againe :
Upon hir lothéd bed hir lustlesse limbes did cast,
And in deceitful dreames she thought she saw him come at last.
But when with open armes she ran to him embrace,
With open eyes she found it false, and thus complained hir case.
That which me pleased (quod she) was dreames which fancy drewe,
But that which me torments (alas) by sight I find it true.
My joye was but a dreame, and soone did fade away,
But my tormenting cruel cares, cannot so soon decaye.
Why heare I not and see, since now I have my sences?
That which is fainéd fading dreames apperéd by p̄tēces, [*sic*][3]
Or whereto serve mine eyes, if sights they so mistake,
As seeme to see ech joy in sleepe, and woo when they awake.
The sweete and slumbering sleape, did promise joye and peace,
But these unpleasaunt sights do rayse such warres as never cease.
The sleape I felt was false, and seemed to ease my grief,
But that I see is all to true, and yieldes me no relief.
If truth anoy me then, and fayned fancyes please me,
God graunt I never heare or see, true thing for to disease me.
If sleaping yeeld me joy, and waking worke me woe,
God graunt I sleape, and never wake, to ease my torment so.

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[1] These poems are not included in the ed. of 1575, that of 1587, nor reprinted by Hazlitt. I print from the ed. of 1572, the British Museum copy.

[2] This translation begins on p. 294. The original is canto 33, stanzas 59–64.

[3] Pretences.

O happy slumbring soules, when one dead drowsy sleepe
Six monthes (of yore) in silence shutte, with closéd eyes did keepe.
Yet can I not compare, such sleepe to be like death,
Nor yet such waking, as I wake, to be like vital breath.
For why my lot doth fall, contrary to the rest,
I deem it death when I awake, and life while I do rest.
Yet if such sleepe be like to death in any wise
O gentle death come quick at call, and close my dreary eyes,
Thus said the worthy dame, whereby I gather this,
No care can be compared to that, where true love parted is.

LENVOIE.

So Lady if you had but halfe like care of mee,
That worthy Bradamant had then her own Ruggier to see :
My readie will should be so prest to come at call,
You should have no such sight or dreame to trouble you withall.
Then when you list commaund, and I will come in hast,
There is no hap shall hold me backe, good will shall roon so fast.

Si fortunatus infoelix.

SONNET.[1]

When stedfast friendship, (bound by holy othe)
Did parte perforce my presence from thy sight.
In dreames I might behold how thou wert loth
With troubled thoughts to part from thy delight.
When Popler walks enclosed thy pensive mind,
My painted shadow did thy woes receive :
Thine evening walks by Thames in open wind,
Did long to see my sayling boat arive.
But when the dismold [*sic*] day did seek to part
From London walles thy longing mind for me,
The sugred kisses (sent to thy dear hart)
With secret smart in broken sleepes I see.
Wherefore in tears I drench a thousand fold,
Till these moist eyes thy beauty may behold.

Si fortunatus infoelix.

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[1] p. 311.

EITHER A NEEDLESSE OR A BOOTLESSE COMPARISON BETWENE TWO LETTERS.[1]

Of all the letters in the christs crosse rowe,
I feare (my sweete) thou lovest B the best,
And though there be good letters many mo,
As A. O. G. N. C. S. and the rest,
Yet such a liking bearest thou to B.
That few or none thou thinkest like it be.

And much I muse what madnesse should thee move,
To let the cart before the comely horse :
Must A give place, to B. for his behove?
Are letters now so changéd from their course?
Then must I learne (tho' much unto my paine,)
To read (anew) my christ crosse rowe againe.

When first I learnd, A. was in high degree,
A captaine letter, and a vowell too :
Such one as was alwayes a help to B.
And lent him sound and taught him what to doo.
For take away the vowels from their place,
And how then can the consonants have grace?

Yet if thou like a consonant so well,
Why should not G. seem better far than B?
G. spelleth God, that high in heaven doth dwell,
So spell we gold and all good things with G.
B. serves to spell bold, bawoy [*sic*] brain sick, bolde,
Black, browne and bad, yea worse than may be told.

In song the G. cliffe keepes the highest place,
Where B. sounds alwayes (or too sharp or) flat ;
In G. sol, re, ut, trebles have trimme grace.
B serves the base and is content with that.
Believe me (sweete) G. giveth sound full sweete,
When B. cries buzz, as is for bases meete.

But now percase thou wilt one G. permit,
And with that G. thou meanest B. to joyne :
Alas, alas, me thinkes it were not fit,

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[1] p. 333.

(To cloke thy faults) such fine excuse to coyne.
Take double G. for thy most loving letter,
And cast off B. for it deserves no better.

Thus have I played a little with thy B.
Whereof the brand is thine, and mine the blame.
The wight who woundes thy wandring will is he,
And I the man that seeke to salve thy name:
The which to thinke, doth make me sigh sometime,
Tho' thus I strive to jest it out in ryme.

Meritum petere, grave.

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1. 1568. MS. fol. 38 leaves. Jocasta. A tragedy written in Greke by Euripides, translated and digested into Acte by G. G. and Fraunces Kynwelmershe of Grays Inne, 1566. From the Guilford Library, lately in the Corser Collection at Stand. Hazlitt says that G.'s autograph is appended to Acts II, III, and V, and that the MS. differs somewhat from the text of the quartos. See *Coll. Anglo-Poet.* V. 452.

2. 1575. MS. Reg. MS. 18A. xlviii, 27. The tale of Hemetes the heremyte pronounced before the Queenes Majesty att Woodstocke. This MS., now in the Brit. Mus., consists of 62 leaves. The frontispiece is a drawing representing the presentation of the work, other drawings follow. *The Tale of Hemetes* was first printed by Nichols in 1821, see below. Mr. Fleay suggests that the *Tale* was published with the Princelye Pleasures, in 1576; this is plainly a mistake. *Biog. Chron. of the Engl. Drama*, I, 237.

3. 1576. MS. 4°. Reg. MS. 18A. lxi. 275. The Grief of Joye, Certayn Elegies, wherein the doubtful Delightes of Mans Lyfe are displaied. Written to the Queenes most excellent Majestie, 1 Jan. 1577. This MS., now in the Brit. Mus., consists of 38 folios. It was first printed by Hazlitt.

B. COLLECTED EDITIONS.

1. [1572.] 4°. B. L. A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small Poesie, pp. 445, R. Smith. This first ed. is of very great rarity. The prefatory letter bears date, Aug., 1572. For contents see above p. 24.

2. 1575. 4°. B. L. The Posies of G. G. Esquire. Corrected, perfected and augmented by the Authour. pp. 488, R. Smith. The Epistle dedicatorie is dated Jan. 2, 1575. Some copies of this ed. contain *The Glasse of Government* without pagination. *Certayne*

Notes, etc., appears also first in this ed. Some copies bear the name of H. Bynneman for R. Smith. For contents see p. 28.

3. 1587. 4°. B. L. The pleasauntest workes of G. G. Esquyre: Newlye compyled into one Volume, that is to say: His Flowers, Hearbes, Weedes, the Fruites of warre, the Comedie called Supposes, the Tragedie of Jocasta, the Steele glasse, the Complaint of Phylomene, the Storie of Ferdinando Jeronimi and the pleasure at Kenelworth Castle. pp. 326, A. Jeffes. Copies of this ed. differ as to the title: The whole workes of G. G. The contents and the pagination also differ in some copies, some containing besides the matter above *The Glasse of Government* and in one case *The Droome.* According to Lowndes, *Supposes* is found occasionally bound up as a separate ed.

4. 1868–70. 2 vols. 4°. The complete Poems of G. G. Now first collected and edited from the early printed copies, and from MSS., with a Memoir and Notes by W. C. Hazlitt. *The Roxburgh Library.*

C. EDITIONS OF SEPARATE WORKS.

1566. 8°. The French Littleton, Newly set forth by C. Holiband, At the beginning is a sonnet entitled: G. Gascoigne Squire in commendation of this booke. This is G.'s earliest published work.

1575. 4°. B. L. The Glasse of Government. A tragicall Comedie, Done by G. G. Seen and allowed H. M[iddleton] for C. Barker. The dedication, which is dated April 26, 1575, is usually wanting. There appear to have been two impressions of *The Glass* in this year; the earlier is without pagination, without the appended table of Errata, and differs in the Colophon. See Hazl. *Handbook of E. Engl. Lit.*, 222, and *Brit. Mus. Cat.* 24, 253.

1575. 4°. The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting, Translated and collected out of the best approved Authors. Prefixed to this work is a poem of some length entitled G. G. in commendation of the noble Arte of Venerie. Several other poems interspersed through the work are probably his. This book usually appears with *The Booke of Faulconrie or Hawking* by G. Turberville, published in the same year.

1576. 4° B. L. The Steele Glas. A Satire compiled by G. G. Esquire. Togither with the Complaynte of Phylomene. An Elegie deuised by the same Author, pp. 132, Richard Smith. Without pagination. The Preface is dated April 12, 1576. The back of the title of this ed. contains a portrait of G., reproduced by Marshall Stace in *The British Bibliographer*, I, 73, and also in Hazl. ed., II, 72. *The Steele Glas* was reprinted for the collected ed. of 1587.

1576. 4° B. L. A Discourse of a Discoverie for a New Passage to Cataia. Written by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Knight. H. Middleton for R. Jhones. The title and the Epistle bear date April 12, 1576. This work was edited by G., who contributed an Epistle, G. G. Esquire, to the Reader, and A Prophetical Sonet, upon the commendable travile, *etc.* The copy in the Phila. Library is without pagination. The epistle has never been reprinted.

1576. 4°. B. L. The Droome of Doomes Day, translated and collected by G. G., pp. 272, J. Cawood. The dedication is dated May 2, 1576. The copy in the Brit. Mus. is without pagination.

1576. 12°. A Delicate Diet for Daintie Mouthde Droonkardes, wherein the fowle abuse of common carousing and quaffing with hartie draughts is honestly admonished, by G. G. Esquire. R. Jhones. The dedication contains the date Aug. 22, 1576. The copy of this ed. in the Brit. Mus. is without pagination.

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1576. 4°. Cardanus Comfort, translated by Thomas Bedingfield. G. G. to the Reader of this Book. This sonnet does not occur in the earlier ed. of 1573.

1579. 8°. The pleasant Tale of Hemetes the Heremite, Newly recognised both in Latin and English by Abraham Fleming, annexed to his A Paradoxe, *etc.*, pp. 44, H. Denham. See p. 71.

1581. The Arraignment of a Lover, published separately as a broad-sheet ballad, by H. Carre. "Lycensed unto him, another Ballad of Beauties Barr, where thauctor stode." *Stat. Reg.* Sept. 1581. ed. Collier, II, 120.

1586. 4°. B. L. The Droome of Doomes Day as above, pp. 272, J. Windet for G. Cawood. Besides these two editions Herbert mentions a third without date. See *Coll. Anglo-Poetica*, V. 444, and Brydges, *Restituta*, V, 306.

1611. 4°. The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting, heretofore published by G. Turberville Gentleman, corrected by another hand. T. Purfoot. The poems of the ed. of 1575 are here reprinted and the various portraits of Elizabeth removed for the substitution of those of James. See Introd. to Reprint of Turberville's Works, ed. 1587. Edinburg, 50 copies.

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Also, The Tale of Hemetes the Heremyte. First reprinted from the MS. in the Brit. Mus. *ibid.*, 553.

1789. 8° A Delicate Diet, as above, pp. 24. Reprinted from the ed. of 1576 by F. G. Waldron, limited ed. This reprint contains at the end the verses *A Description of the World*, attributed to G.

1790. 3 vols. 8° 1. The Straunge Passion of a Lover, 2. G.'s Lullabye, 3. The Dole of Disdain, reprinted in Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Literature*, II, 147, and in subsequent edd. of the same.

1792. 8° A Delicate Diet. Reprinted by Waldron, in *The Literary Museum*. The pagination is separate, and apparently the same impression as the ed. of 1789 above.

1805–09. 10 vol. 8° The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting. Described with long quotations in *Censura Literaria*, by Brydges. Repeated in the second ed. of 1815.

1807–12. 8° The Grief of Joye, Certain Elegies, etc., Reprinted in part (especially the Dedication) in Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, II, 294–303. Two vols. of this ed. were reprinted in 1814.

1808. The Steele Glas, [Bishop Percy's Selection of] Poems in Blank Verse (not Dramatique) prior to Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

Never published: the impression all but four copies having been burnt. Arber, who refers to Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* II, 408.

1810. 8°. The Poems of G. G. with Whetstone's Remembrance, prefixed by a life of the former poet by Chalmers. *British Poets*, II, 445–573. Chalmers' life is adequate, even if his estimate is over appreciative.

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1815. 4°. Certayne Notes of Instruction concerning the making of verse or rime in English, ed. by J. Haslewood. *Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy*, II, 1–12. 200 copies. This tract appeared first in the ed. of 1575, bound in after *Weedes*, without pagination.

1819. 8°. Specimens of the British Poets by Campbell, contains the Arraignment of a Lover and a few passages from the Grief of Joye, II, 146–50.

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1821. 8° G.'s Princely Pleasures, with the Masque intended to have been presented before Queen Elizabeth, at Kenilworth Castle in 1575. With an introductory Memoir and Notes, by J. H. Burn. This ed. contains a portrait of G.

1821. 4°. The same, published as a part of *Kenilworth Illustrated;* Embellished with engravings, Chiswick Press.

1821. 8° The same, Reprinted by F. Marshall, annexed to vol. 6 of *The British Stage.* Adlard mentions a 12° of the Princely Pleasures of this same year. See also Lowndes.

1821. 4°. The same, and also the Tale of Hemetes, as above, reprinted from the first ed. of Nichols' *Progresses, etc.* See ed. of 1788–1804.

1824–25. Coventry. 8°. Kenilworth Festivities, comprising G.'s Masque represented with prefaces glossarial and explanatory notes. Warwick and Leamington. This is composed of Burn's ed. of 1821 including Lanham and G., bound together with a new title.

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1868. 8°. 1. Certayne Notes of Instruction in English verse. 2. The Steele Glas. 3. The Complaynt of Philomene. Preceded by Whetstone's Remembrance. Edited by E. Arber. *English Reprints.*

1870. 8°. The Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle, Reprinted from the ed. of 1821, 12°, London. This reprint is contained in *Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leycester, a critical inquiry* including an account of the entertainments from the works of G. G. by G. Adlard; preceded by a brief account of G. chiefly derived from Chalmers'

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1893. 8°. Boston. Three Poems of G. G. not heretofore reprinted. Appendix to *The Life and Writings of G. G.* by F. E. Schelling.

D. WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO GASCOIGNE.

N. d. 8°? The Wyll of the Devill with his detestable Commandments, R. Jhones, who published between 1567 and 1594. This was probably a reprint of a far earlier ed. See p. 98.

1570. An Almanac and Prognostications. See *Athenae Cantabrigiensis* 1, 376. I can find no other authority.

1576. 4° Five poems signed "My lucke is losse," The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises H. Disle. These poems are S. Bernardes Verses, A iii, Beware of had I wist, A iiij, Donec eris etc., 30, Where reason makes request, 31, and What joy to a contented mind, 41. These verses were not reprinted in all the subsequent edd. of *The Paradise.* See Brydges ed. 1810, p. xxii, where they are attributed to Barnaby Rich.

[1577?] 8° The Spoyle of Antwerpe, Faithfully reported by a true Englishman, who was present at the same. R. Jhones. See p. 83.

1580. 4°. 1. A Complaint. 2. A Replye. 3. A Description of the World. These three poems appeared in this ed. of *The Paradise,*

and in the later edd. of 1585, 1592, and 1600, in which last the Description was signed "G. Gaske." See pp. 81 and 88. All these poems have been reprinted by Brydges, as above, and the *Description* by Waldron in his ed. of the *Delicate Diet*, 1789 and 1792.

1607. 4°. A poem of twelve lines beginning, "Those which of olde were skilled in Augurie," copied on the fly leaf of the Brit. Mus. copy of *The Whole Works, etc.*, 1587, apparently commendatory of a work entiled Gradualia: seu Cantiorum Sacrarum Liber Secundus, etc., by William Byrde, Organist to the King [James]. A Description of the World and G.'s sonnet on the *French Littleton* follow in the same hand. These verses are the work of G.'s namesake of the Middle Temple.

1828. 8°. The Wyll of the Devill. Reprinted from a copy of Jhones' ed. in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, by Maidment. 40 copies.

1863. 4°. The same, reprinted in Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature by J. P. Collier.

1871. 8°. The same, reprinted with Jyl of Brentford's Testament, by R. Copland, ed. by F. J. Furnivall.

1872. 8° The Spoyle of Antwerpe, etc., preceded by A Larum for London. Reprinted with introduction and Notes by Richard Simpson, in vol. 1 of *The School of Shakespeare.*

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